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Editor Historical Quarterly

JOHN DYMOND, Cabildo, New Orleans.

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BIENVILLE'S SEAL

CONCERNING THIS BIENVILLE NUMBER

As Bienville's genius for good government made him the cornerstone on which the settlement of the great valley of the Mississippi was built, he having made sure France's control of this territory, reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes and from which territory we have carved out many of the present most progressive States of the Federal Union, it would seem most fit that the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans by Bienville should be celebrated by the Louisiana Historical Society.

In this our conferes in France, although engaged in the greatest war ever known really led the way by celebrating on their own part the same event, choosing as they did the date, October 24, 1717, on which the King of France, Louis XIV signed the order making Bienville again Governor of Louisiana, and directing his return to Louisiana to again take up the work of development of this French Empire in the New World.

The Louisiana Historical Society has therefore dedicated this issue, of its quarterly to the memory of Bienville who, the records will show, was the chief factor in the founding of New Orleans, establishing adequate military and police control, pacifying the Indians, securing settlers and developing such agriculture as seemed most fit, and doing all these things with a degree of success unparalelled in American history, and unappreciated until now, two hundred years later when the people of France as well as ourselves look with admiration and appreciation on Bienville's herioc figure as through the records we follow him during the two score years in which he devoted himself to his beloved Louisiana.

In order to emulate here the proposed programme of the proposed celebration in Paris of the founding of New Orleans, the New Orleans bi-centenary Celebration Committee was created to take charge of the whole work of which the Honorable Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans was made chairman, and Mr. T. P. Thompson, Vice-President of the Louisiana Historical Society, was made chairman of the Celebration Committee's Executive Committee.

This committee arranged a preliminary programme to correspond with the date to be utilized in France viz: October 24, 1917, and this was carried out with much success on that date in the City Hall in New Orleans. A brilliant musical program was provided; Mr. Thompson delivered his address on the Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans which appears in this issue; Honorable E. F. Zenoyer de Bournety, Consul General of France in New Orleans, delivered an address in French and Miss Grace King the well known able and accurate historian of all phases of life in Louisiana, read, "Notes on the Life and Services of Bienville," which appear in this issue.

It was contemplated to hold the Bi-Centennial celebration of the founding of New Orleans on the two hundredth anniversary of the date on which Bienville gave orders to proceed therewith, viz: February 9th, 1918, the ceremonies to include the following two days. The ceremonies were to include a military mass in the cathedral, civic and military parades. With the near approach of the return of the committee sent to France to participate in the celebration there, it was announced that the Bishop of Orleans found it impossible to come to New Orleans at the bi-centennial date, other engagements demanding his presence in France, at that time. Further, the great St. Louis Cathedral at Jackson Square, New Orleans, undergoing imperative repairs these were found impossible of completion at that date. Considering all these facts the New Orleans Bi-Centenary Celebration Committee postponed the proposed celebration for the present. Doubtless the gravity of the war situation in Europe, and the great part that our own country is taking therein were also factors leading to this postponement.

The notable reception our Louisiana delegation received in France is fully recounted in the delegation's official report made upon its return to New Orleans and now published in full in this issue of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly. The enthusiasm with which our Louisiana delegation was received in France, its recognition of the ties that bind our nations together, and which have so bound them from the days of Washington, Lafayette and Rochambeau, still bind them together in these days of Wilson, Pershing, Poincarre, Joffre and Foch. The American army in Europe may enable the French and English to dictate on the banks of the Rhine the terms of any coming peace, just as Rochambeau and Lafayette aided George Washington at Yorktown in 1781 in securing such peace as completed the independence of the American colonies.

To add to our knowledge of Bienville's life in New Orleans Madame Heloise Hulse Cruzat, one of New Orleans' most accomplished French scholars, has made a considerable study of the archives of the period, now in the possession of the Louisiana Historical Society, and from the original data thus secured she has written the article on "New Orleans Under Bienville," which appears in this issue. In her reseach work many odd items have been secured, and from these she has chosen a number which we now publish under the general title of "Sidelights on Louisiana History," Many quaint items will be found therein and those of us who have lived here most of our lives or all of our lives, will be profoundly impressed with the progress Louisiana has made during these two centuries. Some of the old customs and modes of life remain with us to the present day.

Quebec in the north, and New Orleans in the south, the two extremes of French settlements in America are now much visited by travelers and dealers in antiques have so many orders that it is rumored that here, as in Europe, the dealers are compelled to manufacture antiques to order, as the demand for them is greater than the supply. Medical men will be interested in the experiences of Louisiana doctors of 200 years ago. The penalties inflicted for crimes remind us of the old law of the Hebrews, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. At least the man who sold dog and cat meat as wild game, was put on parade with his crimes placarded on his breast.

It will be found that the Mississippi river levees became at once matters of great interest 200 years ago, and disputes as to the rights of individuals and as to the natural water courses arose at once. What would Bienville, or the people of his day say, could they see the splendid levee system now existing and maintained in the Mississippi Valley.?

As the Louisiana of those days reached from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes and included mineral stores the search for them was maintained and lead mines were quite a feature.

Slave labor was in vogue and negroes were freely imported and freely sold. Such was the case throughout all the colonies that now comprise the U. S. Federal Union. Some Indians were enslaved and were bought and sold, but that phase of human slavery never developed to any large proportions. The Indians do not seem to have been sufficiently docile for satisfactory enslavement.

An interesting feature of this issue is Dr. Bispham's account of the rivalry of two great branches of the Catholic church for ecclesiastical control of Louisiana. The common motive to the rivals was the religious and educational development of all the people, the natives included. Dr. Bispham is a careful student and writer and his contribution to the literature of this epoch is a valuable one.

Mr. William Kernan Dart, one of our younger historical writers, and one of the Vice-Presidents of our society contributes an essay on "Early episodes in Louisiana History," in which Mr. Dart cites authority and makes no claim to original research but does give us much interesting matter and particularly his account of the Massacres of the settlers by the Natchez Indians. The Indians here in the Western world were fire worshippers, and sun worshippers, apparently similar to the worship of the disciples of Zoroaster or Zarathrushta in ancient Persia. These Natchez Indians seem to have been of a higher grade than the average American Indian, and the data given concerning them in this Bienville number of our quarterly we hope will excite more interest in them.

Miss Nellie Warner Price's (now Mrs. L. R. Graham) contribution of "La Spectacle de la rue St. Pierre," will be found interesting and attractive and suggests what a mine of data lies dormant among us today which requires only earnest and careful work to bring these data out in attractive form and in such form as will lead us to a better appreciation of the work done by Bienville and by his successors during the last two centuries.

We give in this issue a full account of New Orleans' recently adopted official flag. The details of the work of the committee in charge of the many designs shown and of the difficulties found in reaching a final conclusion as to the merits of the designs and the final division of the honors between two designers and the raising of the flag in Jackson Square in January 8, 1918.

An immense quantity of historical material lies in the archives of the historical society not yet classified. In this issue we give some thirty pages of abstracts from these official papers which to those who can read between the lines clearly show the trials and the tortures, as well as the peccadilloes of the men and women who began our civilization in this then new Western world, which civilization has attained its present high level during these two centuries and we believe shows to all the world that we in America have chosen the best lines for national progression.

These papers are all suggestive of the work the Louisiana Historical Society is engaged in. It occupies a field fuller of romance and tragedy, of successes and of failures, of joys secured and of sorrows realized, than does any other section of our country. The Society asks all those interested in any wise in these matters to lend a hand and to aid in the good cause of perpetuating Louisiana's splendid history.

The Cabildo wherein we are housed is itself a constant reminder of the chief events of the last two centuries. The portraits of the chief actors in Louisiana's history for two hundred years are there displayed. The first hundred years reaches from Bienville to Napoleon Bonaparte and Thomas Jefferson, covering the French and Spanish domination, the second, from Thomas Jefferson to Woodrow Wilson covering the acquisition of Louisiana by Thomas Jefferson, covering the wars of 1812, of 1846, the Civil War and now reaching to the European War of which the end is not yet.

Again we may say, lend a hand and make our Louisiana Historical Society the chief of its kind.

JOHN DYMOND, Editor.

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ADDRESS OF HON. E. F. GENOYER DE BOURNETY CONSUL-GENERAL OF FRANCE

Discours de M. E. F. Genoyer:

Monsieur le Maire, Messieurs les Membres du Conseil Municipal et du "Bi-Centennial Committee,"

Mesdames et Messieurs:

Je demande à vous dire quel honneur et quel plaisir c'est pour moi, de me trouver aujourd'hui au milieu de vous dans l'accueillante maison municipale de cette grande belle cité et d'être appelé à prendre la parole devant une aussi sympathique assistance, en des circonstances particulièrement flatteuses pour le représentant à la Nouvelle Orléans du Gouvernement de la République Française.

Mes sentiments de reconnaissance vont tout spécialement vers le premier magistrat de la ville, dont le nom, devenu ici synonyme d'affabilité accueillante invoque, dans tous les Etats de l'Union aussi bien qu'en Louisiane, l'image prototype de l'administrateur municipal parfait, du Maire énergique, qui, entre mille autres bonnes habitudes, possède celle, bien pratique, de toujours réussir dans ce qu'il entreprend.

Nous savions que l'Honorable Martin Behrman ne laissait jamais échapper une occasion de nous témoigner sa sympathie et la sollicitude dont il est animé à l'égard de notre colonie; mais, aussi habitué que l'on puisse être aux attentions délicates, elles ne laissent pas cependant de toujours vous faire le plus grand plaisir: Quand, acceptant l'invitation qui lui était adressée par la ville de Paris, votre Maire envoya en France une délégation de Néo-Orléanais choisis parmi les notabilités les plus distinguées pour représenter la Municipalité aux fêtes du Bi-Centenaire de la Nouvelle Orléans nous en fûmes certainement très flattés; nous sommes aujourd'hui très touchés de l'heureuse idée qu'il a eue de nous convier à une réunion destinée à marquer la communauté de pensée qui anime nos deux peuples, afin que les cérémonies françaises aient leur écho immédiat sur les rives du Mississip. Je suis heureux de l'occasion qui m'est offerte de l'en remercier publiquement.

Aujourd'hui, à cette même heure qui nous trouve réunis ici, Paris est en fête, Paris la ville lumière dont l'éclatant prestige moral, artistique, littéraire et scientifique ne peut être terni par les ténèbres de l'heure présente. Paris la capitale intellectuelle du monde, a, pour un jour, dépouillé les vêtements sombres et revêtu ses atours,—

parce qu'aujourd'hui Paris célèbre joyeusement l'anniversaire de sa soeur d'Amérique de cette perle Louisianaise qui fut elle aussi une fille de France, fille chérie et choyée, jamais oubliée bien qu'elle ai dû quitter sa famille d'origine pour entrer dans la grande famille Américaine, unissant ainsi à tout jamais nos deux nations.

Et certes, Messieurs, le Gouvernement et le peuple français ont raison d'ainsi se réjouir. C'est avec fierté que nous, enfants de France, restés dans la vieille patrie d'où nos aieux communs virent partir Bienville et ces pionniers qui avec lui vinrent porter sur les côtes du grand Golfe les bienfaits de la civilisation Européenne, nous pouvons tendre la main à nos cousins américains et admirer l'oeuvre accomplie par les fils des anciens colons. Sur la plage où il y à deux cents ans débarquèrent les compagnons de Jean Baptiste Lemoine, là où ne se trouvaient alors que dunes de sable et marais, l'industrie humaine, la persévérance et l'intelligence d'uñ peuple jeune et énergique ont fait naître une ville que est devenue la métropole du Sud de l'Union et une des cités les plus actives et prospères du monde. . . . A l'heure de son quadruple jubilé, la Nouvelle Orléans se doit de relever orgueilleusement sa velle tête de puissante créole, car elle a le droit d'etre fière de chacune des deux cents années de son existence, années toujours bien employées puisqu'il nous est permis d'admirer aujourd'hui le merveilleux résultat de ses efforts: cette belle et riche cité si commerçante et prospère, allant toujours de l'avant, grâce à l'impulsion que lui donne sans cesse l'administration municipale actuelle si énergique et avisée.

Mais, Mesdames et Messieurs, en ce jour, grâce aux circonstances héroïques des années tragiques que nous vivons, la célébration parisienne sort des limites tout d'abord assignées et devient nous manifestation nationale. Certes, en tout temps, il nous aurait été précieux à nous autres Français de France de fêter la Nouvelle Orleans, son Bi-Centenaire, sa prospérité actuelle et ses touchants souvenirs; mais, l'aurions nous fait cependant avec autant d'enthousiasme et d'émotion reconnaissante, si, derrière la députation civile que vous nous avez envoyée, n'apparaissaient les uniformes kakis des légions américaines?. . Ils sont venus vos fiers jeunes hommes; les voyez-vous débarquer en France, prouvant à l'univers attentif que la démocratie du Nouveau Monde ne pouvait pas rester sourde à l'appel des défenseurs du bon droit et de la justice? Ils arrivent sur la terre gauloise, conscients de leur role glorieux, prêts à donner leurs vies pour que la civilisation latine qui leur fut apportée il y à deux siécles par le sieur de Bienville ne périsse pas à sa source même. Ils savent que sur le champ d'honneur toutes les dettes d'amour et de gratitude seront payées, et leur coeur frémit à l'unisson de tous les coeurs français, alors qu'en l'honneur des amis de toujours et des nouveaux alliés la France entière raisonne d'uñ joyeux vivat.

Montrons que nous les comprenons, que nous sommes dignes des sacrifices qu'ils se préparent à accomplir, en unissant les deux grades démocraties dont nous sommes si fiers d'être les enfants dans le même cri de nos poitrines et de nos coeurs:

"Vive l'Amérique, Vive la France."

"*Honorable Mayor, Members of the Bi-Centennial Committee,*
Ladies and Gentlemen:

"I wish to express the great honor and great pleasure it is for me to be present today in the municipal building of this great and beautiful city and to be requested to speak before such a sympathetic assembly on the occasion of circumstances particularly flattering for the government's representative of the French republic in New Orleans. I wish to extend, very particularly, expressions of gratitude to the first magistrate of the city whose name, synonymous of great affability, has acquired in all the States of the Union, as well as in Louisiana, the prototype picture of the per-

fect, municipal administrator, the energetic Mayor who, with a thousand other good qualities, possesses the practical one of being always successful in everything he undertakes.

"We all know that the Honorable Martin Behrman never overlooked the least opportunity to express the sympathy and solicitude which animate him in regard to our colony. But, as accustomed as we can be to delicate and thoughtful attention, they never fail, however, to arouse, always the greatest pleasure. When accepting the invitation which was addressed to him by the City of Paris, your Mayor sent to France, a delegation of New Orleanians chosen from among the most distinguished and notable men to represent the municipality at the celebration of the Bi-Centennial of New Orleans, we were certainly most highly flattered.

"We are, today, deeply touched by the happy idea he had to invite us to a reunion destined to express our communion of thoughts, which animates the people of our two nations so that the French celebration would have a spontaneous echo on the banks of the great Mississippi. I am happy of the opportunity which is afforded me to thank him publicly.

"Today, at the same hour at which we are here united, Paris is rejoicing. Paris, the luminous city, with its brilliant moral, artistic, literary and scientific prestige, cannot be tarnished by the circumstances of the present hour. Paris, the intellectual capital of the world, has for this day discarded her somber vestments and has donned her brilliant attire. Paris is triumphantly celebrating the anniversary of her sister of America, of the Louisianian pearl which was also a daughter of France, a cherished and most beloved daughter never forgotten, although she was separated from her original family to enter in the great American family, thus uniting forever our two nations.

"And indeed, gentlemen of the government, the French people have a right to rejoice; it is with pride that we, natives of France left in the mother land descendants of the compatriots of Bienville and of the pioneers who with him, came and brought on the coast of the great gulf, the benefits of the European civilization, we can extend the hand to our American cousins and admire the work accomplished by the sons of the ancient colonists, on the bank on which 200 years ago, landed Jean Baptiste Lemoine; there where nothing could be found but sand and marshes. The human industry, the perseverance and the intelligence of a people, young and energetic, have promoted the growth of a city which is now the metropolis of the South of the Union and one of the most active and most prosperous cities of the world.

"At the hour of her double jubilee, New Orleans can raise proudly her beautiful head because she has the right to be proud of each of the 200 years of her existence, years always well employed, and we are permitted to admire today, the marvelous results of her efforts—that beautiful, bountiful and rich city so commercial and prosperous, always going forward, due to the impulsion which is incessantly given her by the triumphal administration, so wise and so energetic.

"But, ladies and gentlemen, due on this day to the heroic circumstances of the tragic years we are living, the Parisian celebration leaves, at first, the limits assigned and becomes a national manifestation. Certainly at all times it would have been most precious for us—Frenchmen of France—to celebrate the founding of New Orleans, her Bi-Centennial, her actual prosperity and her touching souvenirs, however, would we have done so, with so much enthusiasm and gratifying emotion if, beyond the civil delegation you have sent, did not appear the khaki uniform of the American Legion?

"They have arrived—your proud young men. Do you see them landing in France, giving to the attentive universe that the democracy of the new world could not remain dumb at the appeal of Justice? They arrived on the Gaulian Land, and conscious of this glorious role, ready to give their lives that the Latin civilization which was brought to them two centuries ago by Sieur de Bienville does not perish at its source; they know that on the battlefield of honor, all the debts of love and gratitude will be said and their hearts beat in unison with all the hearts of France. Now, in honor of her friends, forever, and of the new allies, France in its entirety is jubilant and rejoicing today.

"Let us prove that we are worthy of the great sacrifice they are preparing to accomplish in uniting the two democracies of which we are so proud to be the children—with the same feelings in our hearts and in our whole beings let us exclaim:

"Vive America; Vive la France."

Delivered in French and translated by Mrs. Victoria Mermillod Jones.



BI-CENTENNIAL OF NEW ORLEANS
OCTOBER 24, 1917.

By T. P. Thompson.
(Delivered by him at the Bi-centennial meeting, New Orleans, October 24, 1917.)

It would seem that the Creator of this world made instinct the ultimate and logical Western trend of its population. He started its peopling in Asia, and with this plan of their eventual migration Westward, how necessary it was that there should be formed for man's last assembling place, a habitat of nature's best resources.

This objective of the strongest and the proven was located in a temperate zone, and a great belt of varied soil with proper topography was provided, and kept virgin for the eventual occupancy of God's fittest.

Thus was wonderfully fashioned the great basin of the Western Continent, and in charge of it, temporarily, were placed the original foresters,—a simple people,—the Indians,—to await the slow grinding of God's mills, until the final development of the earth's most finished product,—man,—into a Democracy.

Many charts and maps were drawn during the first three hundred years following the discovery by Columbus of this new Western world, showing the location of its natives and the distribution as they came, of these new people who pioneered from Europe.

When time was at last ripe, and the spirit of seventy-six sprang into existence, there was, as yet, but a narrow strip of what is now known as Atlantic seaboard peopled by whites. Plantations of unknown depths, reaching back into dark forests, where the red man awaited to be relieved of his curatorship; to be pushed back and segregated into selected reservations. Today they yet remain with us, and are witnesses to the care and providential disposition which the Merciful Father ordained, as a means by which there should be delivered to this best beloved and most favored sons, this paradise of plenty,—the Mississippi Valley,—held long years for Democracy's triumphant habitat during the final millenium, before our last reckoning and reward.

"Armageddon! One thousand years of Peace! then Heaven, all for a perfected people." Thus reads the Scriptures. Our interpretation would take it that the great Western Valley of the Mighty

Mississippi is the last training ground of God's chosen,—the heart of a world's Democracy!

It has been the part of Bienville and his successors who had charge of the mouth of the Mississippi river, to render a peculiar service to the perfected American nation, as we know it today.

The original French settlers of Louisiana were the pioneers princeps of this Southern Gateway. They "builded better than they knew,"—they served, and today we must honor them,—their bravery and loyalty to duty as they conceived it, for it was their indomitable courage and tenacity which enabled them to maintain organization, to fight disease, starvation, and the Indian, as well as jealous Europeans, who would, but for them, have usurped and colonized for their own kings this fair valley.

We may not say that the early French knew that they were furthering the cause of liberty and democracy while they held to this fair valley. From LaSalle, on through Iberville and Bienville to Aubrey,—from 1682 to 1769, but the strike made in 1769 by liberty loving de Noyan and others, indicated that Freedom's air was being scented, soon to be demonstrated at Mecklenburg and Lexington by pioneers of democracy, more numerous and mature.

We desire today to draw attention to the service rendered our present nation of 100,000,000 freemen, by those whom Providence originally had placed in this delta, and who maintained for nearly one hundred years, the guardianship of this great South Gate of the future American Republic.

The United States could not today be a power of the first-class, if it had not also been for France and Frenchmen, all moving according to their lights towards the same goal, mankind's freedom: Marquette, LaSalle, Tonty, Iberville, Bienville, Louis XIV, the Duke of Orleans, Louis XV, Napoleon, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and many more, did their part in the evolution and logical working-out process, which today is concreted into the American nation.

DeTocqueville, nearly a hundred years ago, predicted the future of Louisiana, saying: "The Valley of the Mississippi is, upon the whole, the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode," a prophecy by a French sociologist and historian, who seems to have foreseen the day of democracy's championship, as expressed by Woodrow Wilson, the student of history, who now leads America.

The Spanish were the original discoverers of the River,—but theirs was a search for gold, and it remained for the Jesuit Missionary, Marquette, and Joliet, the merchant, to begin things in 1672, with their pioneer journey to the mouth of the Arkansas. LaSalle was

commissioned by France, ten years later, to take possession and to build forts for the protection of Louisiana, which he had named in honor of Louis XIV and Anne of Austria.

Then came the redoubtable Lemoyne brothers, Iberville and Bienville,—who colonized. His elder brothers having died, it was Bienville's part to carry on for France this Western province, and when challenged by Captain Barr and Coxe of Carolina on the waters of the Mississippi, his already located fort, and his authoritative voice in response, quieted for the time the first menace to the infant settlement of the lower valley.

Two hundred years ago, today, in Paris, there met the Western Company, headed by John Law, recently organized to exploit the trade and colonization of the Province of Louisiana, which had been claimed for the Crown of France by LaSalle thirty-five years before. Iberville had been sent in 1698 to colonize and set up government, and his successors had tried several sites for a capital: Dauphin Island, Mobile and Biloxi.

A letter was read at this meeting by D'Artaguette. It was from the faithful Bienville, and it told of a crescent bend in the Father of Waters, where Lake Ponchartrain almost reached the river through bayou St. John, a place about halfway by water between Mobile and Natchez, recently located, easy of access, and safe from tidal wave and hurricane.

Bienville had, by seventeen years of residence, learned intimately the country, and he asked authority to set up the seat of government on the Mississippi river.

His advice was acted upon, and a Cross of St. Louis sent him with the Commission of Governor-General of Louisiana. These honors he received on February 9th, 1718,—the bi-centenary of which we are shortly to celebrate.

The Province of Louisiana comprised then all terrain drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. This meant a stretch of country from Lake Chatauqua to Yellowstone Park, larger than France and continental Europe, today holding a population of some sixty million people, the purest of Americans, democracy's most stalwart manhood.

Bienville was authorized by the John Law Company to manage its interest, and the Regent of France commissioned him Governor of the Province,—all on this day, two hundred years ago, in Paris. The Duke of Orleans, then in control, gave great credit to the indefatigable Bienville, and Bienville, in February following, named the infant capital in honor of his house, "Orleans." This appellation,

prefixed by "Nouvelle," gives it a title of great significance, and an intimate pseudonym we like is: "Paris of America." We have ever tried to live up to this name with our Opera and Carnival, our cuisine and shops, and our seriously gay population, who combine, consistently, industry with the pleasure of living, who go to church and who give staunch support today to our great Republic. Loyal and liberty loving, under one—the only Flag—yet fond of traditions that lead back to France, to which our hearts yearn in sympathy this day.

Bienville located New Orleans, gave the name and laid out the Vieux Carré. He governed benignly and in a most fatherly way. He asked that a school faculty be sent over, also nurses for a hospital. He invited these noble ladies—the Ursulines—to occupy his house while their Convent was being built, a knightly offer, which they accepted, he moving to smaller quarters for the three years involved. Later, that the country might be made social, as well as civil, he asked France to send over wives for his colonists. That the menace of Indians should not stop this progress, he campaigned against the Natchez in several battles, conquering and dispersing this warlike tribe, and pushing on to the Chickasaw nation, helping in the French Indian wars, and doing continuous and valiant service in the peopling of the Mississippi Valley, also in the promotion of friendly relations with the Choctaws; not forgetting to placate and to establish proper trade relations with our Spanish neighbors. In short, Bienville was a business man, a diplomat, a Christian gentleman combined, and a soldier in this country for fifty-six years. A long active life time, this, with all of his thought and energy directed towards the care of his early settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi. He lived to see the fruition of his plans and the proper organization of colonial government, with peaceful conditions established with Indian and Spaniard, all now ready for the great changes which the settlement of the upper valley was bringing, and the wonderful river traffic that was shortly to begin, and which soon made New Orleans a great world's port.

The flat boat commerce was just beginning to appear when Bienville retired to France because of increasing age. Louisiana was shortly after his departure transferred to Spain. This was in 1763. The people did not desire to change flags. They stood for either France or Democracy. An earnest appeal was made to Bienville, whl was now in Paris.

Le Moyne's best work was to seek the King and to beg to secure from harm his faithful subjects in Louisiana. To his last day, full of faith in New Orleans, this founder and builder of the Crescent City,

expressed his fatherly love and fidelity to our small, but nobly conceived capital.

The first blood of martyrdom to freedom's cause in America, happened as a consequence of the King's failure to take Bienville's advice. The Spanish came and our people rebelled, and the spirit of Democracy in America had its embryo suggestion here at the mouth of the Mississippi.

The Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans by Bienville will be celebrated in February next in our city.



BI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN PARIS OF THE FOUNDING OF NEW ORLEANS.

(In one of the Official Municpal Bulletins of the City of Paris, November 11, 1917.)

Reception at the City Hall of Paris of the New Orleans Representatives.

The municipality received at the City Hall at 3 p. m. on the 26th day of October, 1917, the Hon. André Lafargue, chairman of the delegation from New Orleans and his colleagues: General Behan, and Messrs. Vergnolle and Paul Villere, who had come to Paris for the celebration of the Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans.

Mr. Frazier, Secretary of the United States Embassy, representing His Excellency, Ambassador Sharp, (who was ill).

General Allaire, representing General Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the American troops in France.

Mr. Hanotaux, former minister, President of the French-American Committee.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator.

Commander Mahan, military attachee of the United States Embassy.

Mr. Hovelaque, President of the Bi-centennial committee of the founding of New Orleans.

Professor Baldwin.

Mr. B. J. Shoninger, former President of the American Chamber of Commerce, Paris.

Mr. Lawrence V. Bennet, President of the American Club of Paris.

Mr. Frederick Allen, American Marine Lieutenant.

Mr. Vidal de la Blache, member of the Institute.

Mr. Gaston Deschamps.

Mr. le Vicomte d'Avenel.

Mr. John Labusquiere, former Municipal Councillor of Paris, Director of the German and the Bernard Palissy schools.

Mr. Abel Lafleur, author of the medal which was to be offered to the city of Paris by the New Orleans Municipality.

Mr. Jaray, director of the France-American Review.

These personages on their arrival at the City Hall, were led to the cabinet of the President of the Municipal Council, where they were received by:

Mr. Ambroise Rendu, vice-president of the Municipal Council, replacing President Adrien Mithouard (who was ill.)

Mr. Delanney, Prefect of the Seine.

Mr. Hudelo, Prefect of Police.

Mr. Deslandes, President of the General Council.

Messrs. Lalon, Pointel, Fiancette, secretaries of the Municipal Council.

Messrs. Ernest Gay, Mayer, Froment-Meurice, Delavenne, vice-presidents of the General Council.

Messrs. Fontaine, Aucoc, Delpech, Loyan, secretaries of the General Council.

Mr. Andre Gent, syndic of both Councils.

Messrs. Achille, Alpy, d'Andigne, Chausse, Cherioux, Dausset, Deville, Dherbecourt, Henaffe, Lallement, Lamprie, Le Corbeiller, Le Menuet, Levec, Paris, Peuch, Ranvier, Rebeillard, Municipal Councillors.

Messrs. Bachelet, Guibourg, Marin, Vandrin, General Councillors. The directors of the Prefecture of Police; Colonel Lanty, commanding the legion of the Republican Guard.

The representatives of the municipal press after apposing their signature in the Golden Book, and the personages present, preceded by the ushers of the Municipal Council, and accompanied by the representatives of the municipality of Paris went to the salon des Lettres, Sciences et Arts, where the following addresses were delivered.

Address by Mr. Ambroise Rendu, vice-president of the Municipal Council:

Gentlemen:

My first words must voice regret. The Ambassador of the United States, who had promised to honor this reunion with his presence is unfortunately absent, kept away by sickness, which we all hope will be of short duration. I must then, before tendering my thanks and homage to the New Orleans Delegation, express in the name of all, the regret for Ambassador's absence.

Gentlemen Delegates:
Orleans 1429, New Orleans 1718!

These names and these dates, at an interval of three centuries, are inscribed in our annals and in our hearts.

Before the towers of Orleans, just as Dunois had sounded the retreat Jeanne cried out: "The banner touches the wall. Bold and enter, all is ours." And never was flock of birds seen to alight more swiftly in a thicket than these men went up the said bulwarks.

These few lines of the chronicler show the return of fortune which was to restore to France her territory and her rank.

"The year one thousand four hundred and twenty-nine," writes Christine de Pisan, "the sun shone again."

And it was the sun again rising for France, when her children, a swarm vigorous and bold, went to found beyond the Atlantic, a new "Orleans."

The race had grown, its power was established by as many exploits as masterpieces and it overflowed on the New World.

Bienville, the founder of the young city, placed it south of St. Louis, another French town on the Mississippi. Do I need to say what she is today? But can we not also affirm that the entry of the Americans in the arena, in 1917, made new stars shine in our darkened sky? With them fortune returned to us, and many victories demonstrate that French blood is still warm and generous.

Of this you are judges, gentlemen delegates from New Orleans, and I may greet you as fellow citizens who reenter their mother-country.

You are also the offspring of that race of brave men who never despaired even in the sombre days of history and who have embellished it with the superb pages which are the marvel of the world.

Facing that past common to us both we may be proud of those great ancestors who freed the invaded soil with Jeanne d'Arc, who went to plant the banner of France in far and immense regions hardly wrenched from savage nations; who sixty years later, with Montcalm, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and so many others, brought their sword to liberate the United States.

Without overpride can we not declare that our country has always been the champion of great causes, as well during the war of a hundred years as during the struggles for American independence, and in the sublime epopee which lasts since three years. (Applause.)

Be also proud, gentlemen, of this country from which you issue and who welcomed your soldiers as brothers too long separated. Our union is the token of our success: it insures the triumph of right and liberty now as in times past.

You have said it in your letter of introduction and I cannot do better than copy it:

"Our delegation will consider it a pleasure and an honor to wait on you upon our arrival in Paris. We are commissioned by His Honor, the Mayor, to tell you how much New Orleans finds the moment propitious to affirm once more the lofty and legitimate pride it feels in reason of its French origin. As a matter of course New Orleans cannot lose sight of the fact that what constitutes the subtle charm and special culture of New Orleans comes to her from France, from that France who more than ever astonishes the whole world, amazes and dazzles it by its spirit of valiance and sacrifice. What thanks we owe you! My dear Colleagues, allow me to speak of our guests, the New Orleans delegates, who have been well chosen. They represent every branch of municipal activity.

On this score they will be good advisers and we shall be pleased to show them everything beautiful and useful made in our great city.

Besides, what need have they of guides? Here, as in their home, the streets, and avenues bear familiar names: Chartres, Royale, Dauphine, Dumaine, LaHarpe, Laperouse, Lafayette, les Champs Elysees.

In Paris they are in their beautiful city, as we too would feel at home in theirs if the war did not prevent our making plans and our responding to their most cordial invitation.

I now wish to mention this detail which will not escape our amiable and sagacious visitors: Paris is established on a bend of the Seine and this position gives it quays and ports. New Orleans was placed by its ingenious founder on the crescent of the Mississippi, from this its prodigious development; and there, as well as here, it is French they speak. Perhaps our cousins of Louisiana have preserved, as in Canada, the strong outlines of the language of the 17th century which has altered much in the mother-country.

Besides what signify shades when the same blood makes their hearts beat. We speak the same language since we have the same thoughts and the same ideal. (Good! Good!)

Gentlemen delegates: In our city you are as in your own home. Paris recognizes you as its own, and I am more proud than I can say to have been chosen as the interpreter of the day. Be assured that I very imperfectly express our affectionate feelings. (Applause.)

Visit then the industrious and fecund hive of which the city hall is the centre of attraction. Municipal life never slackens, and in the worst days it was not removed.

It remains but to welcome you and to make you visit the city hall, in the absence of the President, whom fatigue has temporarily kept away, and whose echo I am.

The entire municipal council, the conscript fathers, as well as the youth held at the front, all unite with me in fraternally holding out our hands. How can we best thank you for your visit and the voyage which you have not feared to undertake at the risk of so much fatigue and real dangers. Such testimonies are never forgotten and are the seal of an enduring friendship, and I shall add a definite alliance between us.

Gentlemen of New Orleans, once more, "Thank You." (Applause.)

Address by Mr. Delaney, Prefect of the Seine:

Gentlemen:

Welcome to the City Hall of Paris.

We have already received from your great country a thousand proofs of sympathy, this one touches us more intimately perhaps. It comes from a city which bears the name of an old provincial metropolis of ours; our language resounds in your streets and in your public places, and we do not ignore the fact that among you there are hearts beating for France, not as a friend, but as a venerated ancestor. Yes our friendship is delicate and profound and it draws its strength as much from the past as from the present, reciprocal esteem enriches and fosters it, but what makes it dear and ennobles it rests on cult of memory. (Applause.)

We then celebrate with pride common to both the origin of your beautiful and powerful city, which under a sky radiant with light and joy, unites the exuberance of the tropics and the graces of cities of the sun to the most and modern and methodical organization, harmoniously combining the most different civilizations, taking from the Latin world its imagination and its vivacity and retaining the Anglo-Saxon coolness, perseverance and preciseness; and we must also commemorate the creativeness of the first pioneers from France who laid the base of the solid edifice, whose vailant energy, initiative spirit, and profound faith in the future we love to recall. (Good! Good!)

The immense and mysterious solitudes of Louisiana, the grand and majestic course of the Mississippi brought to their minds the thought of a marvelous future. What imagination, however, could have risen to the foresight of actual reality.

What our pioneers could not foresee is the entire American continent fecundated, one hundred million free men addicted, under just laws, to perfecting life, a hundred prodigious cities bustling with activity, the initiative spirit always on the alert, the countless instances of invention and daring held up to the admiration of the world, brilliant, intellectual culture united to material prosperity, in fine, gentlemen, an admirable consciousness of the moral solidarity of humanity in that great people standing for the defense of right. (Applause.)

New world! Gentlemen, we hold that word as a symbol. A day will come, perhaps soon, when that name will no longer be given to your continent which took the best from the ancient and left her, alas, the sadness of sanguinary strife. The new world! Our united soldiers already descry it beyond the trenches: it is concord delivered from evil powers and founded on respect for eternal justice."

Address by Mr. Hudelo, Prefect of Police:

Gentlemen:

But a few months have elapsed since the day that the United States, by President Wilson's voice, announced to the world that it entered the ranks of the defenders of right and liberty. We have already experienced how much strength and grandeur such a resolution carried with it; for this war formidable by the number of men therein engaged, and by the power of the material for combat, this war was to carry down to history the spectacle of a nation sending beyond the sea citizens coldly resolute, conscious of their duty towards humanity, and crossing thousands and thousands of kilometers over the Atlantic to become the guardians of the fire which shed its light on free nations: You have come with the proud qualities of your race, your lungs filled with the pure air of your plains, your mind sustained by the practical and useful formulas of your cities, with hardened muscles and ardent hearts. You have come to us who were never more deserving of the name of old world, since there was still in this world a people sufficiently attached to the forms of the first centuries to halt the flowery bloom of a civilization of peace under hatred, by fire and blood.

Your General in Chief, your officers, your soldiers have met a vibrant welcome in Paris. They traversed the city between two living hedges; they received acclamation in which mingled the gloved hand of the woman of the world, the laugh of the "musette," and the reflection of the "gavroche." In our city veiled by the shadow of mourning they threw flowers to your fellow citizens, and fathers, mothers, and children who had made the most bitter sacrifice to their country, found at the passing of the American troops a smile of gratitude and hope. (Applause.)

This beautiful attitude of our Parisian crowd, so prompt to give itself to those it loves, will not astonish you, gentlemen, who on the American continent continue the traditions of our Latin soil. Does not your presence here today prove this?

It did not suffice that you sent soldiers, expression of the will to vanquish the enemy's pretensions of conquest; you were to bring fresh assurance of the fraternity of feelings which animate the two republics, at a time when our banners are to mingle on the same battle field. To this assurance you have moreover added the touching affirmation of faithful remembrance of the French soil kept through two centuries by the descendants of those, who with Jean de Bienville, created the free city of New Orleans.

Everything here in Paris should assure you that you are at home. Our clasped hands, our looks comprehending each other, and that delicate emotion from which is born the certitude of mutual affection, tell you better than words how cordial and sincere our welcome is.

There is not even a promenade in our dear Paris which will not produce the illusion that you have not crossed the ocean; our constructions recall your houses, our crowd is like yours, active, varied and curious, its women supple and adorned with native elegance, its men of alert and disengaged manner, with that indefinable harmony of a people enamored of its work and liberty.

Let me then believe, evoking the perennial aspect of the present hour, that in the lives of nations there are monuments more lasting than cities, perpetuated through the centuries and before which history halts a moment to rest from bloody struggles and war devastations. These monuments are foundation stones laid by citizens united by the same origin, by feelings which spring from kindred hearts, and whose thoughts, aspirations and desires mingle in an individual soul. You have come today, leaving the banks of your great luminous river to those of the more modest Seine to raise one of these grand monuments. The anniversary of the founding of your city will be in the coming centuries the day when Paris and New Orleans, their eyes turned to the battle front, vibrating with the same hopes, allied for the same destinies, founded the monument of an infinite and fraternal friendship. (Applause.)

Address by Mr. Deslandres, President of the General Council:

Gentlemen:

Allow me at the outset to thank my excellent colleague, the President of the Municipal Council, for having invited me to this festival, thus giving the population of the Seine the occasion to express through me its welcome and its gratitude for the step you have taken, and which from present events borrows a special signification.

In the hour that France undergoes such bitter trials every sign of affection, every word of comfort, every manifestation of solidarity cannot fail to touch us deeply; but we are especially moved by the mission you fulfil. We recognize ourselves in you; we are of the same race, we have the same traditions, many among you still speak our language, our intellectual formation is identical; we are two nations of common origin, bearing in our minds the same ideal. You, like us, have faithfully preserved the cult of remembrance. For you, and for your half-brothers the Canadians, beautiful France has ever remained the old country. Thence the ardent demonstrations of friendship of which your visit has been the auspicious occasion. (Good! Good!)

If we greet in you, gentlemen, the representatives of a great city with rights to our fraternal affection, we bow down before the citizens of free America, whose intervention into the conflict which divides the world we celebrated a few months ago. It brought to our cause which is that of right the sanction of the greatest and most complete of all the democracies which have ever existed. (Approbation.)

That this democracy, essentially pacific, should stand at our side in the struggle which for over three years has deluged the world in blood is a matter of astonishment for those who recall the counsels given by Washington to his fellow citizens in a letter which is as the political testament of that great man: "Europe has certain interests which are special to her and have no reference or a very indirect reference to us. It must then find itself frequently entangled in quarrels to which we are naturally strangers, to attach ourselves by artificial links to the vicissitudes of her—of her politics, to enter into the different combinations of her friendships and her animosities, and to take part in the struggles resulting thereof would be to act imprudently."

Those do not understand the nature of the drama which is approaching its end. Actually there is no question of a war similar to those of which history offer

so many examples, struggles in the interest of dynasties for satisfaction of appetites or rancors.

Repeating President Wilson's forcible words neutrality is no longer possible nor desirable, when the world's peace and liberty of nations is menaced. It is to safeguard the heritage of humanity itself that the United States, without spirit of conquest, without its own interests being directly threatened has thrown in the balance the weight of its sword. (Applause.)

We can from this moment assert that victory is ineluctable. I go further, gentlemen, the consequences of this victory will be incomputable, and we can hope that from it will come, reposing on a basis more solid than brass, the society of nations, the association of free peoples who alone can assure the world of peaceful morrows.

Let not our beautiful dream of universal concord be treated as utopian. The example of the United States proves that the creation of this confederation of nations is in the realm of possibilities.

At the end of the seventeenth century, when on the continent, absolute royalty was triumphant over feudal anarchy, when in the bosom of brilliant and corrupted Europe the very idea of the rights of man was slighted, misunderstood were the principles on which rested modern constitutions, these same principles were proclaimed in the new world and were becoming the future symbol of a great people. (Good! Good!)

The reason is that the colonies, be they of English or of French origin, contained the germs of complete democracy. If the pilgrims differed from each other on many, points, they had however common traits and they were in a situation almost analogous. The mighty and the happy ones are rarely those who seek exile and poverty, and misfortune is a sure guarantee of equality.

Accord was then possible between the divers States founded in similar conditions, and it is a fact that whatever differences that climate, origin and institutions may have put between the ninety-five million men who actually trod the soil of the United States, the agreement they concluded subsists in its entirety.

The reason is that man has ideas and sentiments besides material interests. For a confederation to be able to pretend to a long life there must be between its members more community of ideals than community of interests.

Well, when Germany, awakened from its bloody dream. will have demanded an account from those governing the ruins it has accumulated, when it shall have overthrown the autocracy which still dominates there, but under which yoke it begins to grow restless, an accord will be possible between people equally free, equally desirous of tasting the benefits of a just and enduring peace. (Good!)

Then the plague of war will be definitely distanced, the spirit of conquest will have lived and the nations after having dressed their wounds may prepare a better future and take up their march towards light and truth. (Applause.)

Address by the Honorable André Lafargue, Chairman of the New Orleans delegation:

Sir, President of the Municipal Council, Gentlemen Prefects, Municpal Councillors and Gentlemen:

In the name of Hon. Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans; of the Municipal Council of that city, and of four hundred thousand inhabitants who constitute the sympathetic population whose generous hearts and eminently French minds, (precious talismans), undoubtedly went forth to us during the perilous crossing

we have just made, we lay before you in this day of great civic commemoration an homage of unbounded admiration and respectful friendship. (Applause.)

It is the greeting of the loved daughter to the tender mother in the hour of trial and sacrifice; it is the greeting that the New Orleanians since the outset of this great conflict have addressed from their hearts and minds to the French people. It is the homage of the descendants of the proud and hardy pioneers, who at the price of sacrifices and numberless and most incredible traits of heroism, two hundred years ago, in a region peopled with hostile savages, founded this ancient colony bearing the sweet name of "Louisiana," which of itself when it is pronounced spontaneously evokes such an illustrious past of French colonization that history has never recorded the like. In fine it is the homage of a whole population whose traditions and customs are indissolubly linked to those of your country, and who, though justly proud of being part of the great republic of the United States, cannot lose sight of what it owes to France, to its people, to French genius, and especially the gratitude incumbent on it to the city of Light, to Paris, the brain of the world, who conceived and executed in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the establishment and definite foundation of the great city my colleagues and myself have the honor to represent on this solemn occasion. (Good! Good!)

And never, I assure you, homage was conveyed and tendered with more sincere affection, loyalty and enthusiasm, for do we not count as yours since more than two centuries?

When William the cursed, William the infamous, William the execrated of nations present and to come, in a fit of diabolic pride had unchained the tempest of iron and fire which fell upon the peaceful French nation and her allies, my fellow-countrymen, the New Orleanians, notwithstanding the presidential order given them to preserve a neutral and impartial attitude towards the belligerents, cried to you, across the seas, that they were with you body and soul, that they shared your anguish and your mourning as well as your glories and your triumphs. (Applause.)

The voice of the descendants of Bienville, d'Iberville, Noyan, Marquis, Milhet, Villere and Doucet, of all those whose names figure in flaming characters in the history of Louisiana must have been heard in your midst above the clash of arms and the gigantic struggle in which you are engaged.

Instinctively, though invisibly, you must have felt in France that we were truly with you and that our national duty solely, deterred us from giving you the physical and more tangible proof of our deep attachment and traditional loyalty. (Applause.)

With Paris, we have lived through the hours of anguish and of feverish preparations which preceded the battle of the Marne and when the Prussian soldiery impudent and insolent was advancing on your fair city, determined to profane and soil it, like the heroic Alsatian, whose image adorns your beautiful garden, of the Tuilleries, we answered the enemies who rejoiced beforehand. "Even so!" yes, "even so." said we. Even if the barbarous Teutons reduced to silence the exterior line of fortifications which surround Paris; even if the last defenses were carried by assault, even if the enemy penetrated almost into the heart of your city; even if the city had fallen into the brutal and sacrilegious hands of the Kaiser's hordes, the struggle would not be over. Each city, each hamlet of France would have to be taken. They would have to kill the last Frenchman on that soil of Gaul, watered from end to end by the generous blood of her heroic children, before the enemy dared to declare itself the victor. "And even then," we would add, "victory would not be won, for the descendants of the French throughout the world, and all those who have inherited the

male energy and greatness of soul of the French people would rise fierce and implacable and in thundering tones would say to the conqueror, barring his way: "Even so."

We knew that Paris would prove equal to the trial, and that the cause defended by the French armies was so beautiful, so grand, so sublime and so truly that of right and civilization, that final victory would not remain uncertain and that your old historic city would not fall into the enemy's hands.

We knew in those early days of September, 1914, that the sun of Austerlitz would shine once more in all its glory on France and on its capital, and gild again the dome of the edifice in which He sleeps his last sleep on the banks of the Seine, who once dictated his laws to the Prussians and to the Austrians. (Very Good! Very good!)

Our confidence was more than justified for today the sun of Austerlitz has become that of the Marne, the greatest victory that democracy has ever gained over autocracy and tyranny. (Applause.)

Paris during this time was not anxious, for Paris, back of its triple surroundings of scientific and modern fortifications, shielded many who had been through the painful period of the siege of 1870, who knew of the heroism displayed by the Parisians on that occasion, and whose children would that it might be said of them: today. "Talis pater qualis filius." (Applause.)

We were with you even at that period, and our nation's entry into the war only gave us the right to proclaim aloud what we had always felt. This is why we come today in full communion of spirit and ideas to celebrate with you the Bi-Centennial of the decree authorizing Bienville, your Bienville and our Bienville, to found on the banks of the mighty Mississippi, the city whose children we are, and we hope, that in return, you will send us next February a delegation of your compatriots commissioned to represent your admirable and eternally luminous city at the commemoration which we have planned with a view of making a dignified and enduring entry in our civic annals of the 200th anniversary of the arrival of Bienville and his brave companions on the spot where stands today in all her splendor as Queen of the South, and in all her industrial might, New Orleans, daughter of France and devoted sister of Paris. Your delegation, like ours, will accomplish their pilgrimage in safety, for they will be inspired by the proud motto which is yours and which we ourselves adopted on setting foot on the steamer which brought us here: "Fluctuat nee mergitur." (Double salvo of applause and bravos.)

Translated from the French by Mrs. Heloise Hulse Cauzat.

The Honorable André Lafargue then read the following letters remitted to him at the time of his departure from New Orleans by his His Excellency, R. G. Pleasant, Governor of the State of Louisiana, and by the Honorable Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans:

STATE OF LOUISIANA
STATE DEPARTMENT

Baton Rouge, September 25, 1917.

Honorable Andre Lafargue.
My dear Lafargue:

I remit under fold a commission naming you as my personal representative and delegate of the State of Louisiana that you may represent me as well as the State at the bi-centennial ceremonies of the founding of New Orleans which are to take place in Paris the 24th and 25th of October this year.

I hope that you will not only have a pleasant voyage but a profitable one also, and that your visit and that of your colleagues to Paris will be a manifestation which will more closely cement the ties of friendship which bind the people of our nation and particularly those of the State of Louisiana to those of the great sister republic across the sea.

Kindly express to the authorities of Paris how respectfully devoted I am to them and tell them that by you I extend the most cordial invitation to the great people of that glorious city, and to all of France, to send a delegation to Louisiana to participate in a commemoration analogous to yours, in New Orleans on the 9th, 10th and 11th of February, 1918.

Accept the expression of my highest consideration.

R. G. PLEASANT,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

MAYORALTY OF NEW ORLEANS
Hon. Martin Behrman, Mayor.

September 17th, 1917.

Mr. Adrien Mithouard,
President of the Municipal Council of Paris.

My dear Sir:

This letter which will be tendered you by the Hon. André Lafargue, one of our honored fellow citizens, whom I have delegated very specially as my personal representative and as chairman of the mission that is to participate in the commemorative ceremonies of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Orleans; to take place in your beautiful and historic city on the 24th and 25th of October of this year.

I confide particularly to the Hon. André Lafargue the care to transmit our most cordial greetings and congratulations in the name of the city of New Orleans and its people, and wish him to say, on the occasion of the ceremonies of the 24th and 25th, the happy result which we hope will come from the fraternal manifestation which will take place between the two municipalities. May I express the hope that the city of Paris will be represented at our local ceremonies, which, as I have already mentioned, will take place on the 9th, 10th and 11th of February, 1918, and at which, I assure you, the representatives of the French Government and the Municipality of Paris will receive the most cordial welcome and our distinguished consideration.

Very sincerely yours,
MARTIN BEHRMAN, Mayor.

Honorable André Lafargue next read the text of the official invitation addressed to the Municipality of Paris by the Municipality of New Orleans. This invitation is thus worded:

1718 - BI-CENTENNIAL - 1918
MUNICIPALITY OF NEW ORLEANS
MARTIN BEHRMAN, Mayor
September 17, 1917.

You are respectfully invited to participate in the commemorative exercises of the 200th anniversary of the founding of New Orleans, which will take place on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of February, 1918.

MARTIN BEHRMAN,
Mayor of New Orleans.
T. P. THOMPSON,
President of the Bi-Centennial Committee.
G. CUSACHS,
President of the Louisiana Historical Society

General Behan then expressed himself in these terms:

Mr. President of the Municipal Council,
Gentlemen, Members of the Municipal Council.
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The amiable invitation which you addressed to the Mayor of the city of New Orleans, mayor whom I have the honor to represent in this patriotic and historic circumstance, gives me the pleasure of greeting you.

We are the representatives of this industrious city of New Orleans founded two hundred years ago by a decree of your King Louis XV. The instructions of the monarch were executed with great courage and a great spirit of sacrifice by Bienville and Iberville, two brave and intrepid knights.

It was French education, it was French blood which enabled them to overcome the obstacles and the difficulties presented by a country well nigh impenetrable and to found establishments and colonists on the banks of the Mississippi and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. It was an arduous task. At times they had to contend against the mighty waters of the Mississippi, at times they had to battle with tribes of savage Indians who sought revenge for the arrival of white men from France. Bienville intrepidly swept away all opposition and had soon founded a colony which today is the richest and most enterprising part of the globe. (Applause.)

Today this part of the United States of America which was founded and colonized by your pioneers under Bienville was acquired by us and was turned over to us by the greatest of all men, whose ashes rest under the gilded dome of the Invalides, the man who made his own name imperishable, Napoleon, the unique.

This great dominion ceded by you 1803 tenders today for your soldiers and your people its rice, its sugar, its cotton by hundreds and thousands of tons, its corn and its wheat by thousands of bushels.

Its riches and the vigor of its youth come to you to aid you in repulsing from France and Belgium the inhuman enemies who have invaded your beautiful country.

Friends and comrades, of the city of Paris and of the government of France, what we are, the great results of which we are capable for your grand republic, for its magnificent army and its people, all this must be attributed to your foresight in

1718, which conceived the exploration and colonization, with the help of the French colonists, Bienville and his brother Iberville, who established themselves on the banks of the Mississippi and founded the city of New Orleans in 1718. (Bravos.) We are here today to unite with you in the celebration of that important event which has so much relation to the progress of the city we have the honor of representing and with the progress of the country in general.

At home our French traditions were never lost. They survive in our blood and in our customs. (Applause.) In all the United States New Orleans is known as the Paris of America, compliment of which we are justly proud, and I hope that we shall never lose the French "esprit de corps" innate in the nature of New Orleans and of the old province of Louisiana. (Applause.)

After Gen. Behan, Mr. Hovelaque, President of the Bi-Centennial Committee of the founding of New Orleans, delivered the following address:

Mr. President of the Municipal Council of Paris,
Mr. Prefect of the Seine,
Messrs. Municipal Councillors:

I did not expect to speak today, therefore I will simply recall that the Committee must remit to the city of Paris a Commemorative medal; there does not seem to be any time more opportune than the moment.

This done I recall what Mr. Prefect of Police said awhile go when he spoke of monuments more durable than marble and bronze; in effect the medal which we tender you this day commemorates a date; it will remain a remembrance of this day's events in a time fraught with momentous importance. I will say that from the extrme ends of the world the American nation have come to bring to France, aid, friendship and even the last drop of their blood.

I remit to you, Mr. President of the Municipal Council, this medal brought by the delegates of New Orleans. (Applause.)

Mr. Hovelaque then gave to Mr. Ambroise Rendu, Vice-President of the Municipal Council, the medal offered to the city of Paris by the Paris Bi-Centennial Committee.

A lunch was served in the course of which Mr. Ambroise Rendu, Vice-President of the Municipal Council, gave out the following toast:

"All gratitude and friendship to the Gentlemen, Delegates from New Orleans, and to their brothers to whom we send our most cordial and affectionate remembrance. We will drink to the health of all, but beforehand allow me to evoke a memory: A few weeks ago I was in Bordeaux whilst the Mayor of that large city was receiving American ships, representatives of the army and of the navy, and he recalled that when Lafayette left Bordeaux in 1777, he had back of him a chosen troop of cadets of Gascogne. Among them was one named Michel de Lachassaigne: one of his grand-sons is here. I called him from the 118th heavy artillery in which he is engaged. I ask you to raise your glass with him to our brothers of America. This soldier, I beg leave to mention it, is my grand nephew; he bears the same name as his grand-father, Henri de Lachassaigne. (Applause.)

Gentlemen a toast to the memory of those who liberated the great friendly nation."

At. 5 p. m. the reception terminated. The eve of the reception the President of the Municipal Council had received the following telegram from the Mayor of New Orleans:

"On the occasion of the bi-centennial of the decree which established New Orleans on the banks of the Mississippi, we are happy to unite with you and our representatives in Paris in celebrating this event. We celebrate today in our city hall, commemorative ceremonies in which the representatives of France take part with the elite of our city. Across the ocean we stretch out hands to our oldest friends to whom we are linked by our origin, our like democratic traditions, and the red, white and blue banner which now floats over every one of our cities.

We are happy in this hour of trial to offer you our sympathy. From the days of Lafayette and Bienville unto those of Joffre, six generations of Louisianians greet you. We will be with you until the triumph of our common ideal. Behrman, Mayor."

Mr. Ambroise Rendu, Vice-President of the Municipal Council immediately responded by telegram:

"We thank you for your telegram so warmly cordial, and we are not less happy than you that the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans furnishes the occasion of adding other links to those which already unite us. It is particularly satisfactory to think that actual events are Bienville's justification and coronation, and that the descendants of the founders of your city are side by side with us in the combat which we are sustaining against barbarity for liberty and justice.

In welcoming your distinguished representatives, we honor the municipality and the population of New Orleans.

Paris sends you an affectionate greeting, and her best wishes for speedy triumph in our common cause.

"AMBROISE RENDU,
"Vice-President of the Municipal Council of Paris.

On October 26th, at noon, the office of the Municipal Council entertained the New Orleans representatives at breakfast.

At this breakfast were also Messrs. Delanney, Prefect of the Seine; Hudelo, Prefect of Police; G. Hanotaux, former minister, President of the Committee of France-American; Hovelaque, President of the Bi-Centennial Committee of the founding of New Orleans; Jaray, director of the Review of France-America. M. Poiry, Vice-President of the Municipal Council, made the following address:

Gentlemen:

We are always pleased to welcome with hearty cordiality the guests who come to us from the United States of America, but in the bosom of the great Franco-American friendship it is our privilege to take up other friendly ties, and we certainly feel a most special friendship for the beautiful city which today sends you to us.

I have not the pleasure of knowing New Orleans and many Frenchmen, too many alas! are like me. But what Frenchman familiar with the history of his country has not often thought with admiration shaded by melancholy of the strange and magnificent destiny of this city by turns French and Spanish, and again French,

and in the end American, which has not ceased in the midst of so many vicissitudes to develop vigorous prosperity fostered by an incomparable commercial situation, and which preserved the original characteristics implanted by her founders.

What Frenchman reading the accounts of travelers, or turning the pages of a simple guide book, has not evoked with deep emotion on the banks of the majestic and legendary Mississippi, under the luminous sky, in the midst of luxuriant tropical vegetation, the sweet, white city whose galleries, blinds and arcades so closely recall our southern France, and whose streets bear the names of Chartres, Bourbon, Dauphine, Laharpe, La Perouse and La Fayette.

What Frenchman, in fine, has not been touched and flattered in realizing that the qualities of subtle charm and refined culture which distinguished New Orleans among all the cities of the United States are attributed by the Americans themselves to the French blood which flows in your veins.

But these feelings, gentlemen, were not, as I said, without some sadness, for this magnificent shoot from the French tree, separated from it since a century, had preciously kept the memory of its origin. But would time which spares nothing, be likely to spare so fragile a link? Gentlemen, this anxiety is now vanished from our hearts; the great war came which separated the world into two camps, that of civilization and that of barbarism, into that of liberty and that of servitude, had to make and does make us brothers in arms. And this fraternity, we have the certitude, will not be limited to the duration of the present war. It will fill our future and as its benefits are developed it will become from generation to generation more vital, deeper and more profound.

In the reorganization of the world of which the immortal messages of President Wilson has so masterfully laid out the salient lines France and America will give, nay, they already give an example of the fusion of minds and hearts which a short while ago was not deemed possible.

Well, gentlemen, in the midst of the early workers, amidst the precursers of this marvelous union which is cited and praised, at the side of Franklin and Washington, of Rochambeau and Lafayette, it is more than just and legitimate that we forget not near them, and chronologocally at least ahead of them, the founder of New Orleans.

I raise my glass to the memory of Jean de Bienville, founder of New Orleans; I drink to French-American friendship and the speedy triumph of the great cause for which we are combatting side by side. (Applause.)

At the Sorbonne.

Address delivered by the Honorable André Lafargue, chairman of the Bi-Centennial Commission, sent by Louisiana and by the city of New Orleans to celebrate with Paris the two hundredth anniversary of the signing of the decree founding New Orleans.

I could never have summoned the courage and temerity necessary to speak in this illustrious and solemn sanctuary of French thought if my official character as chairman of this mission, and the duty incumbent on me as speaker of the New Orleans delegation, sent to Paris by that city to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of one of the most important acts of colonial French history, did not require that I should tell in public sitting of the great affection, and the unbounded admiration that we have so preciously kept in Louisiana for France and her heroic people.

I have neither the talent, the competence, nor the experience which the great honor devolved upon me calls for, and which I do not attribute to any personal merit, but to the historic titles of the great metropolis of Louisiana, which I and my fellow delegates have been appointed to represent at the commemoration here of one of its most important anniversaries.

Where could the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans be more appropriately celebrated than in Paris? the place where was consummated the act which was to have such great results later on, for your country and ours. From Paris, came to Bienville, Sieur de Lemoyne de Longueuil the instructions and authorization which allowed him to realize the fairest dream of his existence—that of founding a great capital on the banks of the most majestic river of North America—the Mississippi.

From Paris, in after years, were controlled and directed the destiny of our city, then the seat of the government of the colony. In Paris, Bienville, the illustrious founder of our city, whose name we speak with love and veneration, lived his last days, and died a prey to grief after having tried to obtain the annulment of the treaty by which a king of France, autocratic and indifferent, with one stroke of his pen, annihilated the fruits of his laborious and historic career.

Paris, was one may say, the cradle of New Orleans, It is then just that we celebrate in Paris the first act of its founding, the two hundredth anniversary of the authorization, so long demanded by Bienville, to lay the foundation of a city which would be an outlet for all the French establishments of the valley of the Mississippi and its environs, and whose importance in our day has more than justified the hope of its founder.

We were deeply affected by the thought which Paris and the French people had in inviting New Orleans to participate in a celebration in the course of which would forcibly be evoked common memories and illustrious figures that we venerate at home as much as you do here. Therefore when the New Orleans Municipality received the gracious invitation of the City of Light, it eagerly responded by sending us to represent it at your fine commemorative exercises with the mission of faithfully transmitting the testimony of the filial affection of the former colony for the ancient mother-country, and also prayers from the depth of our hearts for the triumph of the cause which has become ours.

I distinctly recall the words of our New Orleans mayor at the moment our delegation took leave of him and I repeat them: "You will tell the Parisians and the French people that New Orleans has never deviated from her historic origin. That in heart and mind she has been with France since the beginning of this war, and today, more than any other American city, by her rights of filiation she proudly takes her stand at her mother's side to struggle valiantly with her until the complete crushing of Prussian militarism, and the definite establishment of a peace which will insure the happiness and security of the generations of today and those to come hereafter." I hear him adding these last recommendations: "Tell them, above all, that the New Orleanians of this age have inherited the great qualities of valiance, endurance, and the spirit of self sacrifice of their French ancestors, of which France is actually giving to the world the most glorious and the most sublime demonstration, and that our motto is that of Gallieni: "To the end!" "

I could not better translate the feelings of my fellow citizens towards you than in quoting the very words of the mayor of our city.

But New Orleans is not alone in wishing to participate in the ceremonies of the day. The whole of Louisiana would associate in the great event which we com-

memorate, and His Excellency, our Governor, Ruffin G. Pleasant sent me, by special messenger, the eve of our departure a letter and a commission investing me with the requisite power to represent our State in its entirety at this manifestation. In this letter His Excellency commissioned me particularly to greet in his name the great friendly and allied nation and to tell you that from end to end of Louisiana, in all its Parishes, throughout its extent, the hearts of its inhabitants beat in unison with yours and that we pledge ourselves to be with you in life and in death.

This is what the Governor of Louisiana wrote when he heard that I and my companions were going to Paris for the bi-centennial celebration of the founding on (paper) of our large and beautiful city. He did not leave this occasion pass by without loudly proclaiming, with the authorized voice of the chief dignitary of our State, that the Louisianians are bound to the ancient mother-country by indissoluble ties, that they rejoice to be able to bring you at this time moral and material support, which, as I said yesterday, they desired so much to offer since the beginning of the war.

And as it was meet that our mission should receive its final consecration in the capital of the great American nation, we went to Washington before coming here.

The great statesman who has succeeded Washington and Lincoln, and who proves worthy of the heritage, received us with the utmost kindness and friendliness as soon as he was aware of the purpose of our small embassy.

I recall Mr. Wilson's words when I invited him to assist at our commemorative festival, next February, in New Orleans: "The moment is most opportune to fulfill the mission you are intrusted with. The event which you will commemorate is that which allowed the United States in after years to include in its domain one of the finest regions of the American continent. It is an event of considerable importance and compass and actually your mission can but more strongly accentuate the similar links which bind France to the United States; you consequently take with you my best wishes for the success of your undertaking. God speed you, gentlemen, in your historic journey."

We would not have gone to Washington without paying our respects to Mr. Jusserand who represents your grand nation with so much dignity, who since so many years has incessantly and efficaciously striven to maintain cordial relations between the two republics, and who is always interested in all manifestations the end of which is the bringing together of Louisiana and the ancient mother-country. The event we celebrate today could not leave him indifferent.

We received at the French embassy a welcome so benevolent and so courteous that it gave us the illusion that our voyage was ended and that we were already on the soil of France. It was your Ambassador and his gracious companion who again put into our hands the pilgrim's staff and afforded us the means to proceed on our way, when it seemed barred by numberless difficulties and obstacles which arose from all sides. And so, without delay, from here we send respectful and grateful greetings to Mr. and Mrs. Jusserand.

It was likewise just that before participating in your celebration, before being admitted to set foot on the glorious soil of France, still impregnated with the blood of its heroic children and bearing the indelible stamp of their spirit of sacrifice and of their greatness of soul, we should go through some trials, infinitesimal it is true, to prepare us in some way and to make us more worthy of coming in contact with your immortal nation. The dangers we incurred in crossing the zone, pretendedly blocked by the submarines, and separation from dear ones left in the greatest anxiety have

perhaps given us the right to stand before you today, and tell you of the strong secular and historical friendship which we have always held for you and your country.

I am therefore happy to be able to affirm in the name of the New Orleans population, in the name of the two million inhabitants of Louisiana that the memory of France is still living amongst us and that the seed thrown on our soil in the early days of the 18th century has germinated through ages, has not ceased fructifying, and that presently, using the heart stirring words of your great statesman Mr. Viviani a few months ago in the legislature: "You have only to reap the fine and durable harvest."

And as a living expression of these thoughts and sentiments the French language has been preserved and is in use amongst us, as also the admirable memories and traditions left by the illustrious founders of a city and a State not less anxious in the days of Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse, and so many others, to offer their services and their swords for the defense of common right and for the safeguarding of the liberty of nations.

I repeat it, Louisiana has remained faithful to the principles inculcated in her, and is preparing to send you, without counting her best children, and to give her purest and most illustrious blood; to that source from which she derived it in 1718, to be shed to the last drop if necessary.

The voice of our ancestors was heard among us in imperative tones; from the first shock we burned with the intense desire to come over and give the convincing proof that two centuries have not been able to obliterate the memory that we are the descendants of those who knew how to die valiantly far from their own, in a strange land, for their King and justice.

We respond today to that appeal from our ancestors with all the more enthusiasm and fervor from the fact that the cause we will defend has become that of all civilized peoples of the world, the holy cause of democracy, for which France, vigilant guardian of world right and justice, has drawn her invincible sword which she will sheathe only when liberty of nations and their security will no longer be threatened by the sacreligious aggressions of an impious Hohenzollern or a renegade Hapsburg.

We take our stand at your side with all the more determination and vibrant patriotism because the voice that calls to us is that of our oppressed brethren throughout the world, that it is consequently the voice of God.

"VOX POPULI, VOX DEI."

We deem that in combating for you we participate in the greatest crusade of ancient and modern times, the one which is to liberate not only a holy site or territory, but which will save the human race from the most infamous yoke which barbarians ever dreamed of imposing on it. We want it said that we are the worthy sons of worthy sires. We too want to gird the armor of truth and justice that we may entone with you on the day of liberation the hymn which on the morrow will be that of the allied nations as well as yours: "Rise children of the civilized world, the day of glory has come since it is the day of universal peace."

Oh France! Mother country of Duguesclin, Godefroi de Bouillon, Bayard and Turenne, your sons of Louisiana also claim their immortal page in the legend of centuries, and will thank you for calling them to your side.

Oh France! Mother country of the great liberators of 1789, country of Napoleon, Joffre, Castelnau, Nivelle, Pétain, we, more distinctly than ever, hear your clarion call and with gladness we hasten to respond. Here we are. Allow us to enter your ranks with our standards, which, like yours, are those of Liberty, Equali-

ty, and Fraternity, in the height of the battle that we may shed our blood with yours for the great glory of nations and for their security to come.

Mother, tenderly loved and venerated, your sons will not have worked in vain to implant your civilization and your genius on American soil, for from the depths of the impenetrable forests of Louisiana, and the uncultivated swamps of the lower Mississippi, I see advancing in serried ranks their descendants who come to greet you, render homage to your valiance, and take their place by the side of those who since three years have woven your crown of immortal glory. Iberville, Bienville, La Salle and their like will have conquered for you the finest of all empires, that of hearts and minds, that neither the course of ages nor political convulsions can break nor destroy.

A la Sorbonne.

Discours prononcé par l'Honorable André Lafargue, President de la Commission envoyée par la Louisiane et par la Nouvelle Orleans pour célébrer avec Paris le 200*e* anniversaire de la signature du Decret de Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans.

Je n'aurais jamais eu la hardiesse et la témérite de prendre la parole dans cet illustre et solennel sanctuaire de la pensée française, si je ne m'étais rendu compte que le caractère officiél dont je suis revêtu, en ma qualité de chef de mission, et le devoir qui m'incombe comme porte-parole de la Delégation que la Nouvelle-Orléans à envoyée à Paris pour y célébrer le 200*e* anniversaire d'un des actes les plus importants de l'histoire coloniale française, exigeaient que je dise en séance publique toute la grande affection et toute l'admiration sans borne que nous avons toujours precieusement conservées en Louisiane pour la France et pour son peuple héroique.

En effet je n'ai ni le talent, ni la compétence, ni l'expérience, que comporte le grand honneur qui m'échoit et que je dois attribuer, je le sais, non pas à mes mérites personnels, mais bien aux titres historiques de la grande Métropole Louisianaise, qui à bien voulu me désigner ainsi que mes compagnons pour la représenter à la commémoration chez vous d'un de ses anniversaires les plus importants.

En temps normal, un évènement de l'envergure historique de celui que nous célébrons aurait acquis une importance considérable; aujourd'hui cet évènement et sa commémoration en raison du cadre et de l'époque revêtent un caractère dont la signification et l'intéret palpitant ne sauraient échapper à personne.

Ou pouvait-on mieux célèbrer le 200*e* anivarsaire de la signature du décret de fondation de la Nouvelle-Orléans qu'à Paris, à l'endroit même ou cet acte qui, devait plus tard avoir de si grandes conséquences pour votre pays et pour le nôtre fut consommé. C'est de Paris que furent envoyés à Bienville, Sieur Lemoyne de Longueil, les instructions et l'autorisation qui devaient le mettre à meme de réaliser le plus beau rêve de son existence,— celui de fonder une grande capitale sur les rives de plus majestueux des fleuves de l'Amérique du Nord; le Mississippi. C'est de Paris, que par la suite, les destinées de nôtre ville, devenue le siège du gouvernement de la colonie Louisianaise, furent contrôlées et dirigées. Et c'est à Paris, que Bienville, l'illlustre fondateur de nôtre ville, celui dont nous ne prononçons le nom qu'avec amour et vénération vécut ses derniers jours et mourut en proie au plus grand chagrin, après avoir vainement tenté une dernière fois de faire annuler le traité par lequel un roi de France, d'un trait de plume autocratique et indifferent mettait à néant tous les fruits de sa laborieuse et historique carrière.

Paris à été pour ainsi dire, le berceau de la Nouvelle Orléans. Il est donc juste que ce soit à Paris que l'on célèbre le premier acte de sa fondation, le 200*e* anniversaire de l'autorisation, longtemps demandée par Bienville, de jeter les fondements d'une ville qui devait servir de débouché pour tous les établissements français de la vallée du Mississippi et de ses environs et dont l'importance de nos jours à plus que justifié les prévisions et l'espoir de son fondateur.

Nous avons tous été profondement touchés de la délicate pensée que Paris et le peuple français ont eue en invitant la Nouvelle-Orléans à participer à une célébration au cours de laquelle on évoquerait forcément des souvenirs communs et des figures illustres, que nous vénérons chez nous autant que vous les vénerez chez vous. Aussi lorsque la Municipalité de Nouvelle-Orléanaise reçut la très gracieuse invitation de la Ville Lumière, elle s'empressa d'y répondre en nous envoyant pour la représenter à vos beaux exercices commémoratifs, avec mission de vous apporter fidèlement le témoignage le plus complet de l'affection filiale de l'ancienne colonie vis-à-vis de l'ancienne Mère-Patrie et de vous transmettre tous les voeux que nous faisons du fond du coeur pour le triomphe de la cause qui est devenue la nôtre.

Je me souviens fort bien des paroles de notre Maire de la Nouvelle-Orléans au moment ou notre Délégation le saluait avant de partir et je vous les répète: "Vous direz aux Parisiens et au peuple français que la Nouvelle-Orléans n'a jamais menti à ses origines historiques. Qu'elle n'acessi de combattre avec la France par le coeur et par la pensée dès le commencement de la guerre et qu'aujourd'hui plus q'aucune autre ville Américaine, elle se range fièrement et de par ses droits de filiation aux cotés de sa mère pour lutter vaillament avec elle jusqu'à l'écrasement complet du militarisme Prussien et l'établissement définitif d'une paix qui assurera aux générations d'aujourd'hui et de demain le bonheur et la sécurité." Je l'entends encore ajoutant ces dernières recommandations: "Dites-leur surtout que les Neo-Orleanais d'aujourd'hui ont hérité des grandes qualités de vaillance, d'endurance, et d'esprit de sacrifice de leurs ancêtres français, qualités dont la France donne actuellement au monde entier les preuves les plus éclatantes et les plus sublimes, et que comme eux, notre devise est celle de Galliéni: 'Jusqu'au bout!' "

Je ne pouvais mieux faire pour vous traduire les sentiments, dont mes compatriotes sont animés à votre égard qu'en vous citant actuellement les paroles du Maire de nôtre ville.

Mais la Nouvelle-Orleans n'est pas la seule qui ait voulu participer aux cérémonies d'aujourd'hui. Tout l'Etat de la Louisiane a voulu s'associer au grand évènement que nous commémorons et son Gouverneur, l'Honorable Ruffin G. Pleasant, m'a fait parvenir par courrier spécial, à la veille de notre départ, une lettre et une commission, me revêtant des pouvoirs nécessaires pour que notre Etat en entier soit représenté officiellement à cette manifestation. Dans sa lettre, Son Excellence me chargeait tout particulièrement de saluer en son nom la grande nation amie et alliée et de lui dire que d'un bout à l'autre de la Louisiane, dans toutes ses paroisses et dans toute étendue, les coeurs de ses habitants vibraient à l'unisson avec les votres, et que nous faisons le serment d'etre avec vous pour la vie et pour la mort.

Voilà ce que m'écrivait le Gouverneur de la Louisiane lorsqu'il apprit que je me rendais avec mes compagnons à Paris pour y célèbrer le 200*e* anniversaire de la fondation sur papier de notre grande et belle ville. Il n'a pas voulu laisser échapper cette occasion de vous affirmer hautement et avec la voix autorisée du chef de notre Etat, que les Louisianais restaient attachés à l'ancienne Mère Patrie par des liens séculaires et indissolubles et qu'ils se rejouissaient de pouvoir aujourd'hui lui apporter

leur appui maternel et moral, appui qui, comme je le disais hier, ils avaient tant désiré offrir dès la première heure, dès le début des hostilités.

Et comme il était juste que notre mission aille recevoir sa consécration définitive à la capitale de la grande nation Américaine, nous nous sommes rendus à Washington avant de venir ici. L'illustre homme d'état qui à recueilli la succession des Washington et des Lincoln, et qui s'en montre si digne, nous reçut avec la plus grande bienveillance dès qu'il fut avisé du but de nôtre petite Ambassade.

Je me repelle distinctement les paroles de Mr. Wilson alors que je l'invitais à assister a nos fêtes commémoratives du mois de Février prochain: "Le moment est tout à fait opportun pour remplir la mission dont vous etes chargés," nous disait-il, l'événement que vous devez commémorer est celui en vertu duquel les Etats Unis plus tard purent inclure dans leur domaine une des plus belles régions du continent américain. C'est un événement dont l'importance et la portée sont considerables et à l'heure actuelle vôtre mission ne peut qu'accentuer d'avantage les liens séculaires qui unissent la France aux Etats Unis, vous emportez par conséquent mes meilleurs voeux pour le succès de vôtre entreprise. God speed you gentlemen, in your historic journey."

Nous ne voulions pas nous rendre ici sans aller saluer celui qui depuis tant d'années travaille chez nous incessamment et efficacement à maintenir les rapports les plus cordiaux entre les deux républiques soeurs et qui représente si dignement à Washington votre grande nation. M. Jussererand n'a cessé de s'intéresser à toutes les manifestations qui ont pour but de rapprocher la Louisiane de l'ancienne Mère-Patrie. L'événement que nous célèbrons aujourd-hui ne pouvait le laisser in different. Nous avons rencontré à l'ambassade de France un accueil dont la bienveillance et la courtoisie toute française nous donnaient veritablement l'illusion que nous avions accompli notre voyage, et que nous étions déjà en terre de France. C'est votre Ambassadeur et sa gracieuse compagne qui nous ont remis en main le bâton de pélerin et qui nous ont mis à même de poursuivre notre route, alors qu'elle nous semblait barrée par des difficultés sans nombre et des obstacles qui surgissaient de tous les côtés. Aussi, sans retard, nous adressons d'ici à un excellence, ainsi qu'à Mme. Jusserand, un salut respectueux et reconnaissant.

Il était juste, aussi, avant que nous ne participions à notre célébration et avant que nous ne fussions admis à mettre pied sur le sol glorieux de France, encore tout impregné du sang de ses enfants héroiques et portant l'empreinte ineffacable de leur esprit de sacrifice et de leur grandeur d'ame, que nous traversions quelques épreuves, —eh bien infimes, il est vrai, pour nous préparer en quelque sorte et nous rendre plus dignes de prendre contact avec votre nation immortelle. Ces quelques dangers que nous avons couru en franchissant la zone soi disant bloquée par les sous marins ennemis et la séparation de ceux qui nous sont chers et que nous avons laissés là bas dans la plus vive inquiétude, nous ont peut-etre acquis quelques droits à nous présenter devant vous aujourd'hui et à vous dire de vive voix toute l'amitié séculaire et historique que nous avons toujours conservée pour vous et pour votre pays.

Aussi suis-je heureux de pouvoir vous affirmer au nom de toute la population Néo-Orléanaise, en celui des deux millions d'habitants de la Louisiane, que le souvenir de la France est resté vivace parmi nous et que la semence qui à été jetée dans notre sol au commencement du 18e siècle par vos ancêtres, a germé à travers les ages, n'a cessé de fructifier et qu'aujourd'hui, pour nous servir des paroles vibrantes que votre grand homme d'état, Mr. Viviani, prononçait il y à quelques mois à la Chambre, "Vous n'avez qu'a en récolter la belle et durable moisson."

Et comme expression toujours vivante de ces pensées et de ces sentiments, la

langue française est conservée et mise en usage parmi nous ainsi que les souvenirs et les traditions admirables laissés par les illustres fondateurs d'une ville et d'un état dont les habitants, je tiens à le redire encore, ne sont pas moins empressés que jadis, au temps des Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse, et de tant d'autres de vos héroiques et invincicles compatriotes, à offrir leurs services et leurs épées pour la défense du droit commun et pour la sauvegarde de la liberté des peuples.

Je vous le répète, la Louisiane est restée fidèle aux principes qui lui ont été inculqués et elle s'apprête à vous envoyer sans compter ses meilleurs enfants et à vous donner son sang le plus pur et le plus illustre, pour le verser s'il est nécessaire jusqu'à la dernière goutte à la source ou elle l'avait puisé en 1718. La voix des ancetres s'est faite entendre chez nous de façon impérieuse dès le premier choc et nous brulons du désir intense de venir vous donner la preuve convaincante que deux siècles n'ont pu nous faire oublier que nous étions les descendants de ceux qui savaient mourir avec vaillance loin des leurs en terre étrangère, pour le roi et pour la justice. Aujourd'hui nous répondons à cet appel des aieux avec autant plus d'enthousiasme et de ferveur, que la cause que nous allons défendre est devenue celle des peuples civilisés du monde entier, la cause sainte de la démocratie pour laquelle la France gardienne vigilante du droit des gens et de la justice mondiale, a tiré son glaive invincible, qu'elle n'abaissera que le jour ou la liberté des peuples et leur sécurité ne seront plus menacées par les agressions sacrilèges d'un Hohenzollern impi ou d'un Hapsbourg renégat.

Nous nous rangeons à vos côtés avec d'autant plus de détermination et de vibrant patriotisme que la voix qui nous appelle est celle de nos frères opprimés de par le monde et qu'elleest par conséquent la voix de Dieu. "Vox populi, vox Dei." Nous estimons en combattant pour vous, que nous participons à la plus grande croisade des temps anciens et modernes, à celle qui doit libérer non pas seulement un lieu saint ou un territoire quelconque, mais sauver la race humaine du joug le plus infame que les barbares aient jamais songé à lui imposer. Nous voulons que l'on puisse dire que nous sommes les dignes fils de dignes pères. Nous voulons, nous aussi, nous ceindre de l'armure de la Vérité et de la Justice, afin de pouvoir entonner avec vous le jour de la libération cet hymne qui deviendra demain celui des nations alliées aussi bien que le vôtre: "Allons enfants du monde civilisé, le jour de gloire est arrivé, puisque c'est le jour de paix universelle."

O France patrie des De Guesclin, des Godefroid de Bouillon, des Bayard et des Turenne, tes fils en Louisiane veulent aussi avoir leur page immortelle dans la légende des siècles et ils te remercieront de les appeler à tes cotés.

O France patrie des grands libérateurs de 1789, patrie des Napoleon, des Joffre, des Castelnau, des Nivelle et des Pétain, nous percevons plus distinctement que jamais ton appel claironnant auquel nous nous empressons de répondre avec allégresse. Nous voila. Permettes nous de nous ranger avec nos étendards, qui comme les tiens sont ceux de la Libérté, de l'Egalite, et de la fraternité au plus fort de la bataille afin que nous puissions verser notre sang avec le tien pour la plus grande gloire des Peuples, et pour leur sécurité à venir.

Mère tendrement aimée et toujours vénérée, tes fils n'auront pas travaillé en vain pour implanter ta civilisation et ton genie en terre d'Amérique car du fond des forets impénétrables de l'ancienne Louisiane et des marécages incultes du bas Mississippi, je vois accourir leurs descendants en rangs serrés, qui viennent te saluer, rendre hommage à ta vaillance, et se placer à coté de ceux qui depuis trois ans t'ont tressé une couronne de gloire immortelle. Les Iberville, les Bienville, et les La Salle t'auront conquis le plus beau de tous les empires, celui des coeurs et des esprits, que ni le cours des ages ni les convulsions politiques ne peuvent entamer ou détruire.

NOTES ON THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF BIENVILLE

By Miss Grace King.

(Read before the Bi-Centennial meeting in New Orleans, October 24, 1917.)

Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was born at Ville Marie (Montreal) in 1680. His father, Charles Le Moyne and his mother, Catherine Primot, belonged to the best emigrant stock that came from France to Canada, furnishing a race of pioneers unsurpassed, if not unequalled by any that history chronicles.

The Le Moynes came from Dieppe. Dieppe had always been one of the busiest stations on the road from the old World to the New. Charles Le Moyne in 1641, opened his career in the New World by taking service with the Jesuits, who sent him into the country of the Hurons, as trader, soldier and interpreter. After this he entered into the service of Ville Marie on the frontier of Montreal and at the age of 28, he was not only celebrated on account of his fights and treaties with the Indians, but in addition was possessed of a large fortune, consequently in a position to marry. He made a good choice and married well. The marriage is recorded in the registry of the church of Notre Dame.

It has been said that no marriage ever contracted within her lands, had ever been so profitable to Canada. Of the 12 sons of Le Moyne, nine lived distinguished in history, three were killed on the field of battle, three became governors of cities or provinces.

The father died in 1685, when our de Bienville was only five years old. He was raised by his eldest brother the Baron de Longueil, who lived on the princely estate of Longueil, in his great chateau which was the wonder of the time.

Bienville intended to pursue his career upon the sea, following the example of his brothers Iberville and Serigny. At 17 he was midshipman serving under de Serigny and Iberville, in their heroic expedition against the English at Hudson's Bay. He returned from it with Iberville to France, where Iberville almost immediately received the commission to discover and take possession of the Mississippi. He retained Bienville as his garde marin or midshipman.

It was a race between France and England for a great prize. But Iberville was not a man to be distanced to a prize by any competitor. He fitted out his little fleet with a rush, two small frigates

Taken from Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, by Grace King's "Makers of America," Series, Dodd, Mead, New York.

and two sloops; engaged crews, laid in supplies, making his arrangements he said, "not only to arrive first at the goal, but to fight for it should he come in second." He sailed on the 24th of October, 1698—and in due course of time entered the Gulf of Mexico, and began his search for the Mississippi, passing Pensacola, then in possession of the Spaniards, entering Mobile Bay, and finally anchoring in the little harbor of Cat Island, as he named it, although the cats were raccoons.

From the Indians on the opposite shore of the lake, he heard of the great river, but could get no sure direction to it. Finally on Friday, 27th of February, taking Bienville with him, he set out in two barges, with provisions for 25 days, and leaving orders with the ships to sail to France in six weeks if he had not returned.

The morning of Friday, 27th of February, Saturday and Sunday were passed skirting around the shores and shoals of the delta until a great storm overtook them. After battling with wind and waves for three hours, as darkness was coming on there seemed no choice but of perishing at sea or being wrecked on the rocky palissades of the shore. Iberville put his barge about, and with full wind astern, drove his boat on what appeared to be a rocky reef. The rocks, they were only drift wood covered with slime, separated before him. Beyond them was a great tawny stream; the Mississippi was discovered. It was the night before Mardi Gras, as the men reminded one another, lying around their camp fires. Then followed their reconnoissance of the river; for some definite proof that it was the Mississippi.

Bienville's barge went ahead, Iberville's following. The progress by oars was slow and laborious. They secured an Indian guide and at night they camped on the shore.

One night on the left bank of the river about 35 leagues or 105 miles from its mouth, on a point of the bank, they came to a small Indian village of ten or more cabins thatched with straw; in a kind of fortification; an oval space surrounded by canes and saplings the height of a man. Both banks here were almost impassable on account of the canes that grew to prodigious height and thickness.

The guide took Iberville six leagues or 18 miles above this stopping place to about the site now of our city and showed him the Indian portage between the river and the lake, where the French ships lay. To prove how short it was, the Indian took a package from the river to the lake and returned during the night. The Frenchmen explored the river as far as the Houma Indians, visiting the villages. When Iberville, becoming convinced that he was in the Mississippi,

decided to return to his ships. Leaving Bienville to come down the river, he with a guide made his way through Manchac Bayou, into the lake and reached his ships eight hours before Bienville. Iberville, unloading the ships, made a settlement at Biloxi and Ocean Springs and sailed away to France with the news of his success, leaving his lieutenant Sauvole in command of the little settlement that had been made at Biloxi, and Bienville second in command.

Bienville's task was to explore the new country and render a report to Iberville. He made a reconnoissance around Pensacola and explored Mobile Bay and the river. After that he repeated his and Iberville's explorations of the Mississippi and visiting the Indian tribes. He went as far as Bayou Plaquemine and explored it. It was on his return from this expedition while paddling down stream, he discovered ahead of him two vessels lying midstream. They proved to be English vessels in search of the Mississippi. Bienville, advancing in his pirogue, recognized in the Captain of one of them an old acquaintance and convinced him that the river now belonged to France, strongly enough established to defend her rights. The English vessels turned and sailed out of the river. English Turn, in the Mississippi, commemorates this event.

Iberville returning during the following summer, set out in search of a spot of high land, one not subject to inundation, upon which to build a fort on the Mississippi. He found it about 18 leagues from the mouth of the river, and began work at once upon it. While this was going on Bienville was sent to make an exploration of Red River. This he did to the satisfaction of Iberville. His journal of it, though much too brief, is one of our most interesting historical documents and is well worth careful study today. He went as far as the Caddo Indians. Iberville, putting Bienville in command of the Fort on the Mississippi, called Fort Maurepas, returned to France.

The younger man had every difficulty to contend with—starvation, scarcity of drinking water and dissatisfied men. Sauvolle, at Biloxi, fared even worse; for yellow fever broke out among his men, and he himself died of it in August, 1701. Bienville hastened over from his Fort and at once took command. He was just 21.

Iberville, on his return trip to the colony, for strategical reasons removed the French settlement at Biloxi to Dauphin Island in Mobile Bay.

This settlement was only a temporary shift. Bienville was forced shortly to abandon and choose a less exposed site.

He removed to a situation on Mobile river where he built a substantial fort called after the King of France: Fort Louis de la Mobile (the ruins are still to be seen). Here he remained in command and at twenty-two years of age became as we call him, the first governor of Louisiana, a name that then covered an extent of three states and a half. It was not an easy position. Surrounded by hostile Indians; with the aggressive English on the Atlantic coast constantly arming new tribes against him and the jealous, treacherous Spaniards at Pensacola always watching for an opportunity to drive him out; harassed besides, by the internal dissensions in the Fort; the poisonous enmity of the Curate de la Vente, aided by the Commissary de la Salle, who left no stone unturned; no accusation that could be invented, unwritten to vent their malignant spite and enmity against the young officer. He nevertheless held his post undauntedly against inside and outside foes through ten long years of trial and tribulation. In 1712 the French government tired of its unprofitable colonial venture, made it over to the Sieur Antoine de Crozat, a capitalist and moneyed favorite of the court; giving him a charter of its trading privileges for the term of fifteen years. A new Governor La Motte Cadillac was appointed in Bienville's place and he was transferred to Fort Ste Rosalie, a post at Natchez, and made commandant of the Indians. This was owing to his influence over the natives who feared and trusted him above all Frenchmen. Cadillac, his most truculent and disagreeable superior, pays this tribute to him in his report:

"I cannot too highly praise the manner with which M. de Bienville has been able to gain the savages and dominate them. He has succeeded in this by his generosity, his loyalty, his scrupulous exactitude in keeping his word and every promise made, and by the firm and equitable manner with which he renders justice among the different Indian tribes. He has particularly conciliated their esteem by punishing severely any thefts or depredations committed by the French, who are forced to make amends every time they commit an injury against an Indian."

This power over the Indians was soon proved in a remarkable instance. In 1716 the Natchez revolted, pillaging Crozat's store house, killing his commissioners and putting to death all Frenchmen, traveling up and down the river. Bienville at the time was about leaving for his post with a small force of men. He hastened his departure and paddling his pirogues with all speed up the river, he arrived at the Tunicas a few miles below Natchez before the revolted Indians knew of his approach. He camped on an Island in

the river where he entrenched himself and then sent a summons to the Natchez chief. Three warriors promptly answered, sent by the chief to present the calumet to Bienville. He coldly waived it aside saying he would never smoke a calumet of peace presented by a Natchez chief. A week later eighteen warriors arrived bringing the calumet. Again he refused it asking them haughtily what satisfaction they were going to give him for the Frenchmen slain, declaring that he must have the heads of the murderers brought to him with the head of the chief who had ordered the killing. Five days later, three heads were laid at his feet, but he was inexorable until the head of the guilty ehief was brought him and then and then only would he smoke the calumet with the tribe. The Natchez never forgot the punishment, and never broke the peace that followed with Bienville.

The Crozat charter came to an end in 1717. Louisiana was given over for 25 years to the Company of the West and of the Indies, whose president was John Law; and Louisiana, become the great financial speculation of the day in France, was advertised and boomed as never before or after in her history.

Soldiers, colonists, provisions and merchandise arrived and were sent over by the ship load until the narrow accommodations at Dauphin Island and Biloxi were blocked with the accumulating human and mercantile freight. Bienville, who had been made commandant under the new regime, profiting by his opportunity and the necessity of the moment, took fifty men and put them to clearing the site he had selected years before as the one site in his judgment for the city, destined as he was convinced, to become the capital of the Mississippi valley. He made a beginning by having a few huts built here and settling on the spot a small number of emigrants.

There has been some discussion and a good deal of misapprehension concerning the true date of the founding of New Orleans.

In Paris today, is celebrated the date of the official edict to the Law Company, authorizing the founding of the city upon the banks of the Mississippi.

Martin and Gayarre, our earliest and as far as we know, our most correct historians, whose statements are generally accepted as decisive, give the following.

Gayarre states:

"The government of Louisiana was accorded for a second time to Bienville (Feb. 9th, 1718). The first act of his administration was to seek a favorable settlement upon the Mississippi upon which

to put his principal establishment."—Gayarre Histoire de la Louisianne. Vol. 1, Ch. 8. page 162.

Martin tells it thus:

"On the 9th of February three of the company's ships arrived, with as many companies of infantry and 69 colonists; Boisbrillant, who came in this fleet, was the bearer of Bienville's commission as governor of the Province. Bienville dispatched Chateaugay with fifty men to take possession of the Bay St. Joseph. In the meanwhile Bienville visited the banks of the Mississippi to seek a spot for the principal settlement of the Province. He chose that upon which the city of New Orleans now stands and left there 50 men to clear the ground and erect barracks."—Martin. Vol. 1, chap. 9, page 204.

Both of these historians possessed all the documents that we have for historical guidance; and both lived a century nearer the facts of the case than we do. Historians today generally base their opinions on these two authorities, considering them sufficient, with the addition taken from that unquestioned good source of historical information: The "*Journal Historique*" of Bernard de la Harpe, which begins in 1699. This item comes in its proper sequence of date in his journal: "At this time (Feb., 1718), M. de Bienville sought a fitting spot on the banks of the Mississippi upon which to establish his capital. He chose one since named New Orleans, situated 30 leagues from the sea, on the river, on account of its communicating with it by Lake Pontchartrain and the Bayou St. Jean. He left there 50 persons, carpenters and convicts, to clear the land and build a few shelters."

The Louisiana Historical Society in consideration of this testimony, passed a formal resolution in its March meeting, that the dates for the celebration of the founding of the city of New Orleans could, with all security of historical conviction, be decided upon as February 9, 10, 11.

The city was named for Law's patron, the Duke of Orleans, the Regent at that time of France; and this is the one pleasant compliment to a man, whose memory by common consent of historians, has been consigned to infamy.

Bienville's own history is almost lost sight of now in the progress and prosperity of his city, although his own responsiblities and labors were increased by them.

It was not until 1722 that orders came from the Council in Paris to make the city on the Mississippi, the official capital of the colony. In the meantime Law's Mississippi scheme had become the

Mississippi Bubble and Louisiana, overcapitalized by speculators, was threatened with bankruptcy, the usual fate of such enterprises.

When the news of Law's failure reached the city, a panic ensued and all enterprise was stopped for the moment, but emigrants and merchandise continuing to arrive, the momentum already acquired was kept up, and soon it became evident to even the ill-wishers among the officers of the colony that Louisiana in the parlance of today was going to make good and in spite of tornadoes, conflagrations and tempestuous disasters of all kinds and epidemics of fever New Orleans throve and prospered, in the eyes of all. Not so its founder. A spirit of envy and jealousy, fostered by his discontented council board had long been set at work against him. Complaints against him and his administration had passed constantly to France from petty sources of malignity in the colony.

They had been treated with indifference by the Minister, but a more formidable attack, prepared by his enemies, could not be ignored; this was an affidavit by Commissioner Raguet, countersigned by the Superior of the Capuchins and Curate of New Orleans with a notarial certificate attached charging Bienville with peculation and malversation. A letter from the King directed him to return to France and answer the charges.

He made his preparations and sailed at once. "Arrived in France, he presented his justification to the minister,—the memoir of the services that had filled his life since, a mere stripling, he had followed his brother Iberville in quest of the country, for the government of which he was now, a middle-aged man, called to account.

"The services form all there is of the history of Louisiana up to this date. Somewhat may be gathered of the history of Bienville from a few extracts. The paper begins: 'It is thirty-four years since the Sieur de Bienville has the honor of serving the king, twenty-seven of which as lieutenant of the king and commandant of the colony.'

"After the *resumé* of his policy with the Indians,—

" 'It is not without trouble that I arrived at being absolute master of so many nations of such barbarous tempers and such different characters, almost each one of which has a particular language. One can conjecture how many difficulties I encountered and what risks I ran to lay the foundations of the colony and maintain it to

the present time. Necessity, it is said, renders us industrious; but I experienced that it also renders us intrepid in danger, and makes us perform, so to speak, the impossible, in the different conjunctures in which one finds one's self confined in an unknown world with such a small force. I first applied myself to putting myself in a position to govern by myself without the aid of an interpreter. I applied myself to the language which appeared to me to be the dominant one among the savages, and of which the knowledge would facilitate me in learning the others in the end. I was fortunate enough, from the first years, to gain their confidence and their friendship. I studied, to know well their customs, so as to be able to retain them in peace with one another; so that, for the twenty-seven years during which I had the honor of commanding in the province, I was the arbiter of their differences. I always governed these nations, born in independence, so to speak, despotically, and I pushed my authority to the deposing of chiefs.' "

"He terminates:—

" 'The Sieur de Bienville dares to say that the establishment of the colony is due to the constancy with which he has attached himself to it for twenty-seven years, without going out of it since he made the discovery of it with his brother Iberville. This attachment made him discontinue his services in the Marine, where his family was so well known. . . .' "

"In New Orleans, the Superior Council, through the attorney-general, summoned the Sieur Raguet to sustain the deposition signed with his name and given to the curate Raphael.

" 'The Sieur Raguet," says the requisition* of the attorney-general, "did not appear, in consequence of which M. de la Chaise, Superior of the Council, condemned him to pay a fine of ten livres, and resummoned him. He neither appeared in answer to this second summons, simply making answer to the clerk that he 'did not remember anything any longer,' in language and with a levity improper and unsuitable to justice, showing everywhere a contempt of and disobedience to the colony which should be suppressed. As in these revelations the Sieur Raguet had advanced general accusations so grave against all those who had been at the head of the colony, he should either prove them, and not affect silence and default of memory, which was his excuse, or pass for a calumniator, who, contrary

*"A messieurs du Conseil Superieur de la province de la Louisiane . . . arretes en la chambre du conseil le 28 aout, 1725," signed De la Chaise, Perrault, Fazende, Perry. The instructions to the Superior Council in regard to the investigation are not in the compilations of official documents either of Margry or Magne.

to the respect due his superiors, falsely accuses them of the most horrible malversation, with the sole object of blackening them, and insinuating the most disadvantageous opinion concerning them. It was the council's duty on his [the attorney-general's] requisition, to condemn the Sieur Raguet to such reparation, punishment, fine or prison as they should judge proper.

With nothing but the bare compilation of official records before one, it is impossible to form other than vague conjectures as to the effect at the time of these orders upon Bienville, his friends, and the colony. The affairs of the latter since its foundation had never been in so equable and promising a condition, the colony itself never so vital with life and strength, not from distant French interfusion, but from the inherent vitality and strength, which men, like trees, derive from the soil in which they are planted. Iberville's grasp of continent had become a country; Bienville's establishment on the Mississippi, its city, its brain and nerve centre. The shadowy hopes of twenty-five years ago were becoming realities; the poignant vicissitudes, a parent's memory, from which the children's future dawned, a fair and promising morning.

Bienville, while his letters of recall were journeying to him, was holding regular sittings in New Orleans, with the Superior Council, purveying to the ever-increasing legislative needs of the growing community under their charge, recognized that the time had come to extend the aegis of the law over the accumulating population of negroes who had been, and were being, brought into the colony, with all the crude barbarity of their native wilds upon them, by the competing cupidity of alien companies. A legal mode was required for freeing those whom gratitude or affection thus commended (a by no means inconsiderable number, as statistics of the time show), and for defining and protecting the human rights which a state of slavery still allowed the others. The code of regulations, celebrated under the name of the Black Code,* compiled by the jurists of Louis XIV, for the island of St. Domingo, was adopted, and, with a few curtailments and alterations, promulgated in Louisiana in March, 1724. It was the last public ordinance to which Bienville attached his name before returning to France. He, nevertheless, was destituted and in his ruin involved his family.

Perrier was named governor to succeed him. His name dropped out of the official records. His life in Paris is a blank which the imagination alone can fill.

Affairs in Louisiana prospered and New Orleans progressed in the good way of all commercially necessary cities. But under Perrier

military discipline was relaxed and the absence of Bienville's firm grasp and vigilant eye upon the Indians soon made itself felt.

Systematic injustice and daily petty tyrannies on the part of the French had consolidated the whole Natchez nation against them. In 1729, a culminating outrage; ursurpation of their territory by the officer in command had been the signal of revolt; the gross carelessness and the blind self confidence of the same officer had not only made the catastrophe possible but a bloody success. The massacre of the entire French white settlement followed, and the news came to Perrier of a general confederacy of the Indians and a grand plot to massacre the entire French colony. The Natchez in the meantime securely fortified themselves in their village. Perrier proved totally unfit to meet the situation and the futility of his campaigns and his failures to punish the Indians increased their confidence and audacity. The warning came from New Orleans to France, "If it is desired to save the country which is in the greatest danger, it is indispensably necessary to send back the Sieur de Bienville." The Ministry of Marine acted upon it. Bienville was re-established in his former position by the Royal Government. He arrived in New Orleans in 1733 and took up his residence in his old hotel and for two years devoted himself to the measures necessary to punish the Natchez.

His plan of campaign was one in which he thought he had employed every imaginable means for success. Artillery and troops were sent to him from France under competent officers. He raised a force of five hundred men in the colony and secured the cooperation of friendly Indians. But his first expedition met with a defeat as bad as Perrier's and he was forced to return to New Orleans where he began anew preparations for another campaign based on the disastrous experience acquired. All the assistance demanded from the home government was sent him; arms, ammunition, provisions, merchandise; seven hundred soldiers, including bombardiers, cannonniers, and miners; four hundred horses were collected for transportation service, sixteen hundred Indians were added to the Colonial troops. One hundred Canadians were sent to him. With such an armament against them, it was counted on with confidence that the Indians could make no effective resistance. But the end of this campaign was even more disastrous than the first one. The end of it was a council of war held by Bienville and his officers to decide how to end with the least humiliation to the French arms a situation that was becoming daily more critical and untenable. The Indians assisted by bad weather, had proved themselves the millitary masters

of the French and had outfought and outwitted the pompous array of arms against them.

Bienville, in his account of it to the Minister of Marine, says all that could be said about his failure: "I feel with grief that your Highness will not be satisfied with this enterprise which has cost the King so much expense; but I flatter myself at the same time that you will kindly observe that I did not neglect a single precaution necessary to render the campaign as glorious as his Majesty had reason to expect;" relating the conjunction, in time, of all his reinforcements, his store of provisions; more than necessary, had it not been for the inevitable obstacles, his loss of cattle and horses. "At any rate, my Lord, if we have not come out of the affair with all the glory we had a right to promise ourselves, the glory of the king's arms has not suffered."

Through the succeeding years of his administration, Bienville's sense of failure increased instead of diminished. His discouragement sapped from his heart all the old optimism that had vivified his devotion to the colony. He wrote to the Minister asking leave to resign: "The labor, the anxiety and the trouble of mind which I have had to bear for the eight years during which it has pleased your Highness to maintain me in this government have so enfeebled my health that I should not hesitate to supplicate you to give me leave to cross over to France by the first vessel of the king if the interest of the Colony and my reputation did not exact of me that I should put the finishing touches to the treaty of peace I have commenced with the Chickasaws. It is thus after having re-established peace and tranquility in the colony that I desire that it may be permitted me to make a voyage to France to restore my exhausted health. I supplicate your Highness, therefore, kindly to ask permission of the King for me. I do not expect to be able to profit by it before the return of the vessel of 1742, and in case France does not take part in the war which is lighted in Europe."

There is no allusion in any of his reports or letters to the jealousies, piques, and contentions with which he might have sought to excuse some of the unsuccess of the expedition. On the contrary, writing, so soon after his humiliation, he makes a moving plea for promotions among his officers and that they be paid in bills of exchange, instead of in the vitiated card money of the colony:—

> "Losses have fallen upon them, which make their life so hard that it is not possible for them to maintain themseves here. I supplicate his Highness to have some regard to the very humble prayer which I have the honor of making him. I know that the officers who have no plantations, however

moderately they live, cannot sustain themselves without going into debt; and those who have plantations have difficulty in keeping even with their revenues."

"If success had always responded to my application to the affairs of this government, and to my zeal for the service of the king, I should willingly have consecrated the rest of my days to him; but a species of fatality, for some time, pursuing and thwarting most of my best-concerted plans, has often made me lose the fruit of my labors, and perhaps a part of the confidence of your Highness in me. I have not thought, therefore, that I should strain myself any longer against my misfortune. I wish that the officer who will be chosen to succeed me may be happier than I."

His last demand upon the Government was for a college for the colony, to be situated at New Orleans—a demand that was refused.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, his successor, arrived on the 10th of May, 1743, when Bienville took his departure from the colony, never more to see it. He had passed forty-four years working in it and for it. As a mark of favor, the Minister of Marine allowed him the bills of exchange asked for, in which to place proceeds of the sale of his property. The fear of bearing too heavily upon the commerce, he said, had made him ask for only sixty thousand livres, which would be about the sum of his effects and a part of his negroes. He had decided not to sell his land at present, nor the rest of his negroes. His salary for last term of his appointment was twelve thousand livres a year.

Out of the oblivion of his after life in Paris the figure of Bienville arises but once again into history, at the appeal of the colony which had learned to call him "Father." It is an episode which local traditions cherish,—a scene the imagination loves to represent.

At Versailles, April 21, 1764, the king and his minister, De Choiseul, signed the instrument which instructed the Governor of Louisiana, Abadie, to make known to the colonists the fact of the donation of their country and themselves to Charles III of Spain, and his gracious acceptance.

It seemed too incredible, even from a king of France, too base even from Louis XV. The colonists passed from their first state of consternation to one of deliberation and reason. By a precocious intuition of the rights of a people; a large and notable assembly, composed of representatives from every parish, was held in New Orleans; and to the orders of the king to Abadie, they responded, with a petition from themselves to the king—a petition heart-moving in its ap-

peal not to be thrown out from their mother-country, not to be cut off from their ancestral allegiance.

Jean Milhet was deputed to take this petition to France and lay it at the foot of the throne. Arrived in Paris, Milhet sought out Bienville. The young ensign of the discovery of the Mississippi was then in his eighty-six year. The white-haired Canadian patriarch appeared with the young deputy before the courtesan's servitor who had penned it all away,—the great Mississippi river, valley, and delta, the long, unbroken line of Gulf coast, Iberville's great scheme, his own great colony, the city he had founded.

The chronicle merely adds that De Choiseul managed to prevent both them and their petition from coming under the eyes of the king, who, in his saturnalian orgies, far from remembering that he had ever had a Bienville, had forgotten that he ever possessed a Louisiana.

Bienville died in 1768. He was thus spared overliving the final passing of his colony and family and friends under the Spanish yoke.

During Milhet's absence the colonists, with the blind faith of bigots in their king and country, refused recognition of Spanish authority, ordering the Spanish governor, Ulloa, and his ships away.

Milhet returned with the account of his fruitless efforts. The colony fell into the desperation that succeeds to hoping against hope. A wild, premature flutter for liberty broke out in their councils. Their talk, their speeches, rang with a tone which was afterwards to be qualified in history as "American." Armed resistance was made. O'Reilly, the avenger of Ulloa and Spanish royalty, landed in New Orleans, July, 1769. On the 25th October following, six of the rebels, as they were called, were shot in the barrack yard. Among them was Bienville's grand-nephew, the young Jean Baptiste, commonly known as Bienville de Noyan. Six more were exported to Cuba and condemned to prison for terms varying from six years to lifetime. The twelve had their property confiscated. All the "chiefs and authors of the rebellion," as wrote Ulloa to Grimaldi, minister of Spain, were the children of Canadians, who had followed Bienville to Louisiana, "and who had received so little education that they did not know even how to write, having come, with the axe on their shoulder, to live by the work of their hands."

BIENVILLE'S WILL
MADE IN 1765.

In the name of the Father, etc.

Persuaded, as I am, of the necessity of death, and of the uncertainty of the hour, I wish, before it arrives, to put my affairs in order. Firstly, I consign my soul to God. I wish to live and die in the bosom of the Church. I implore the mercy of God and of Jesus Christ, my Saviour. I ask the protection of the Holy Virgin, Mother of God, and of Saint John the Baptist, my patron saint, and of all the saints of paradise.

I give and bequeath to the poor of the parish in which I die, the sum of one thousand pounds, in one payment. I direct that three hundred masses be said for the repose of my soul, in such church as my testamentary executor may choose. I give and bequeath to the herein-named Veuraine, called Picard, my valet, a pension of two hundred and fifty pounds during his life, if he be in my service the day of my death. Moreover, an agreement shall be made with him, by which he shall receive, by the payment of two hundred and fifty pounds, a life rental of the house I placed over his head. I further give and bequeath to him my wardrobe, consisting of all my personal apparel, such as coats, shirts. I further give him the bed and bedding on which he sleeps.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Renaud, my cook, the sum of three hundred pounds, if she remain in my service till the day of my death.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Marechal, my footman, two hundred francs, to be paid at once, if he remain in my service till the day of my death.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Baron, my coachman, the sum of one hundred pounds, if he is still in my service.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Marguerite, the girl who helps in the kitchen, sixty francs, if she remain in my service till the day of my death.

I declare that all my property is acquired, and that the little which I should have received from my father and mother was lost during my minority; for this reason, being free to dispose of my property in favour of whom I please, I wish by this will, as much as is in my power, to give to all of my nearest relatives marks of my friendship and liberality.

I give and bequeath to my nephew, Payan de Noyan, Siegneur de Chavoy, in lower Normandy, son of my sister Le Moyne de Noyan

the sum of ten thousand pounds, to be taken from the share of my grand-nephew, Payan de Noyan, to whom I advanced a like sum of ten thousand pounds to buy a commission in the cavalry, and whose note I hold.

I give and bequeath to my nephew Le Moyne de Longueil, son of my eldest brother, Le Moyne de Longueil, a diamond worth fifteen hundred francs, to be paid at once.

I give and bequeath to my two grand-nieces, De Grandive de Lavanaie, (or Savanaie) who are daughters of my niece Le Moyne d'Iberville, who was daughter of my brother Le Moyne d'Iberville, each a diamond worth fifteen hundred pounds.

I make and institute my universal legatees for one fourth, my grand-nephew Le Moyne de Longueil, son of my nephew Le Moyne de Longueil, who is son of my eldest brother Le Moyne de Longueil; my nephew Le Moyne de Serigny, younger son of my brother Le Moyne de Serigny, for another fourth. My nephew Le Moyne de Chateauguay, who is the son of my brother Le Moyne de Chateauguay for another fourth. And my grand-nephews Le Moyne de Serigny de Loir, and their sister, children of my nephew, Le Moyne de Serigny de Loir, for the last fourth.

I charge my said universal legatees to pay all my just debts, should I leave any,—I do not think I shall,—and to carry out all the provisions of this my present will.

I name as executor of this will my said nephew Le Moyne de Serigny, younger son of my brother Le Moyne de Serigny, praying and desiring him to execute my present will as containing my last wishes. To this end I revoke all other wills and codicils, this present one containing my last wishes.

Made, written and signed by my hand in Paris the fifteenth of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five.

LE MOYNE DE BIENVILLE.

On the margin:—

Registered in Paris, the fifteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

Received: sixty-five pounds.—LANGLOIS.

I have forgotten in this will to make mention of my nephew Payan de Noyan, son of my sister Le Moyne de Noyan, to whom I give and bequeath a diamond worth fifteen hundred pounds.

Paris, the fifteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five. LE MOYNE DE BIENVILLE.

Registered in Paris, April fifteenth, seventeen hundred and sixty-seven. Received: thirteen cents.—LANGLOIS.

New Orleans Under Bienville

Sidelights on New Orleans in Bienville's Time

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT

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NEW ORLEANS UNDER BIENVILLE.

By Heloise Hulse Cruzat.

The history of the founding of the city of New Orleans is of world wide interest, combining as it does in its early years the most divergent blood of Europe, and having as a part of Louisiana, undergone the most vital changes. Founded by the French, it was turned over to failing financiers returned to a dissolute monarch, to be bartered like ordinary chattel to Spain, reverting once more to France to be sold to the infant republic which it has helped to swell to the giant republic of today.

1718-1918.

1718. The Ryswick peace in Europe after long wars instigated and allowed the establishment of Louisiana (1699) and the founding of New Orleans (1718).

1918. The demon of war let loose over the whole world will change our maps, alter boundaries, and consolidate or annihilate democracy. In the history of nations some dates conjure up the past, repeople it, bring back names and personages that loom up so large at a period that they make it their own. In going over the ink-eaten and time-worn documents in the care of the Louisiana Historical Society, the soundless voices of life and love and death resuscitate these wraiths of the past. We live over with them their hopes and fears, their disappointments, their failures and their successes, and the grandest of them all is the "Father of New Orleans," Bienville.

Bienville the great, the just, navigator, explorer, soldier, legislator, financier, surrounded by a halo which has not waned with time. In a new and distant land he upheld the banner which bore the lillies of France with its traditions of honor and glory; with strength of character and courage which never faltered he faced danger, labor, privation, external and internal foes. His great mind rose above persecution and petty jealousies; he realized and mastered the needs of the colony he founded on the banks of the Mississippi and forced the nations of this continent to treat it with respect. His work was not the outcome of a thirst for gold nor adventures. A higher ambition stirred his soul, and the sublimity of the task he undertook and fulfilled equaled that of the missionary. Bienville belonged to that race Casgrain has called "the strongest ever implanted on the Ameri-

can continent: the Canadian. The noblest blood which ever ran in the veins of humanity flows in theirs,—the blood of France."

The French Canadian family of Lemoyne did so much for Louisiana that we have as great a claim upon it as Canada. Six of the Lemoyne brothers gave their services to the establishment of Louisiana, and one of the daughters paid her tribute of blood to France in the person of her grandson, de Noyan, one of the Louisiana martyrs. Bienville was of Norman descent. His father, Charles Lemoyne, was born at Dieppe, Normandy, (France) in 1626. His parents were Pierre Lemoyne and Judith Duchesne. The transplanting of Bienville's ancestors in the new world dcame in 1641, when Charles Lemoyne went to join his uncle, Adrien Duchesne in Quebec. Shortly afterwards, the boy of fifteen was sent by the Jesuits to the Huron settlement, where he remained four years, and in that time learned all the Indian dialects (journal des Jesuites). He afterwards served as an interpreter at Ville Marie and married there, in 1654, Catherine Thierry, born in Rouen, (France), but we find her in Quebec in 1652, as a pupil of the Ursulines. She was afterwards called Catherine Primot from her foster parents, who, after her marriage to Charles Lemoyne, legalized the adoption. In 1657 Charles Lemoyne became master of the grant of Longueuil, "concession seigneurale," opposite Montreal, south of the St. Lawrence river, and in the course of the eight following years obtained the islands of St. Helena and de la Ronde.

In 1667, at the instigation of Talon, intendant of Canada, Charles Lemoyne received from Louis XIV of France letters patent of nobility in return for services to the crown. He is supposed to have named the grant of Longueil from the village of that name in Normandy, but Viger says that it was so called by Lemoyne in significance of the extensive view of the St. Lawrence from Longueil (long-oeil). He received three concessions besides those above mentioned, among them Chateauguay, which title he annexed in 1673 to that of Longueuil "Sieur de Longueuil et de Chateauguay (notes from Howard library).

Charles Lemoyne died in 1685 and his widow in 1690, Lemoyne shortly before his death ceded his title to his eldest son Charles. Charles Lemoyne and Catherine Primot had 14 children.

1°. Charles Lemoyne, Sieur de Longueuil, created Baron of Longueuil in 1699, first married to Elizabeth Souard d'Adoucourt, and secondly to Marguerite Legardeur. This first baron of Longueuil with two of his brothers took part in the battle of Hudson bay. At the death of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, the baron de Longueuil governed

the country during the year which elapsed before the nomination of the next governor. He was killed at the battle of Saratoga. From this Charles (II) Lemoyne descend the Grant family of Canada who have a right to the title though they do not bear the name of Longueuil.

2°. Jacques Lemoyne, Sieur de Ste Hélène, took his title from the island of that name opposite Montreal. He was killed defending Quebec in 1690. The Onantaguas in consideration of his valor adopted him, and at his death sent his widow a delegation bearing a porcelain necklace as a sign of sympathy. He had married Jeanne Dufresnoy Carion and left two daughters and a son,

3°. Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville, a soldier at the age of fourteen, was the greatest mariner of his time. He was the first to enter the Mississippi by its delta and founded Louisiana. He died of a fever in Havana in 1706, aged 44 years. He had married Marie Therese Pollette de la Combe Pocatiere and left two children. His widow, by a second marriage in France, became Countess of Bethune.

4°. Paul Lemoyne de Maricourt, born in 1663, married twice. His first wife was Marie Madeleine Dupont de Neuville and the second Francoise Aubert. He accompanied Iberville in all his expeditions and aided him in concluding the great treaty of peace with the savages in 1700. Paul Lemoyne died in 1704.

5°. Francois Lemoyne de Bienville I, born in 1666, died in 1691, at Repentigny, Quebec, fighting against the Iroquis, who set fire to the house he was defending. He was but 25 years old.

6°. Joseph Lemoyne de Serigny, born July 22, 1668, married to Elizabeth Heron, soldier and explorer, died as governor of Rochefort in 1734. He left two sons and a daughter.

7°. Francois Marie de Sauvole, born September 22, 1670, died August 22, 1700 or 1701 (explorer).

8°. Antoine Lemoyne lived but a day.

9°. Catherine Jeanne Lemoyne, born March 15, 1673, married to Pierre Payen, Seigneur de Noyan, captain in the navy.

10°. Louis, Sieur de Chateauguay, January 4, 1676, killed in battle November 4, 1694—aged 18.

11°. Marie Anne, born May 13, 1678, married October, 1699, to Jean Baptiste Bouillet, écuyer, Sieur de la Chassaigne, governor of the town of Three Rivers.

12°. Jean Baptiste Lemoyne de Bienville (II), the "Father of New Orleans," born February 23, 1680, died in Paris in 1768.

13°. Gabriel Lemoyne, Sieur d'Assigny, born November 11, 1681, died, 1701.

14°. Antoine Sieur de Chateauguay (II), born July 17, 1683, died March 21, 1747, governor of Cayenne, of l'Isle Royale. He married Emilie de Fontaine.

The name of Lemoyne among the descendants of Charles Lemoyne de Longueuil, extinct in Canada, still existed in France at the end of the past century in the posterity of Joseph Lemoyne de Serigny, governor of Rochefort.—(Jadouin and Vincent, Howard Library and Annals of the Ursulines of Quebec.)

Pierre d'Iberville, the third son of Charles Lemoyne, had distinguished himself by exploits which had brought him great renown. His victories over the English in Hudson Bay and on the New Foundland coast read like a tale of the ancient Paladins, and when the peace of Ryswick brought respite to France and seemed to break his career, his mind and desires turned to explorations. He petitioned the French Cabinet for a commission to explore and colonize the lower part of the Mississippi. He obtained a fleet of four vessels, and, at San Domingo, added to it another under command of Chateaumorant. The first land they sighted was Santa Rosa island and the harbor of Pensacola (formerly Anchusi). It was in possession of the Spaniards under Don Andres de la Riola. A heavy fog like a winding sheet enveloped the harbor and both French and Spaniards waited with no little anxiety for it to lift. The French were not allowed to land and the Spanish after an exchange of courtesies, on the gulf, bade them God-speed with as much alacrity as politeness. A letter from Chateaumorant to Count Ponchartrain gives details of this reception. All that bears on this episode is contained in the following excerpt:

(Translated from Louisiana Historical Society documents.)

"*June 23, 1699.*

"Your Lordship:

"I left, as I had the honor of informing you, Wednesday, December 31st, at midnight from the harbor of Léogane with Messrs. d'Iberville and de Surgères, Mr. de Grasse, captain of a light frigate, embarked with me and was of great assistance; besides being a perfect sailor he knows all the rocks and ports to Mexico, having all his life navigated on that route.

"Thursday, January 22, at 10 P. M. I found a sounding of 180 fathoms, mud bottom. I made for the channel waiting for daylight, sounding from hour to hour and as at two hours after midnight the weather was exceedingly windy and the night very dark and stormy and that I only found 160 fathoms of water, mud bottom, I gave the signals of the point, where I stayed until Friday 23rd when the weather cleared, and in sounding I only found 140 fathoms, mud bottom. Then the wind being north N. W. I made my way with half sail N. E. to hunt for land, sound in hand; two and a half hours after noon I found 36 fathoms, coarse sand, grey-white mixed with small shells. At 4 P. M. I sounded and found but 32 fathoms same bottom; at 5:29 P. M. I determined to anchor to wait for day, not sighting any land, though the weather was fine. Night having come I saw a great fire to N. W. . . . which showed me that I could not be very far from land. I have since heard that when savages went on a hunt they set fire to the ends of the savannahs holding wild beasts, in the path of the wind, and these animals fleeing from the fire pass the places where the hunters are posted who kill as many as they wish. Whilst I hugged the shore, almost every night I saw these fires. The savages choose a time of great drought to go on a hunt and it is generally in December, January and February, because at that time there are heavy north-west winds.

"At six Saturday morning, January 24th, I got under sail and steered for the cape, to the north, north-west, until 1 A. M. when I sighted land, remained to N. E. only five or six leagues distant, then I put on full sail for reconnoitering, but there was little wind; at noon it was still north and N. E. about from four to five leagues. It is a low land completely innundated and as I still held the sound in hand two hours after noon I found 20 fathoms of water, coarse grey-black sand; at 4 P. M. there were 16 fathoms, at 5 o'clock 16 fathoms fine white sand, at six P. M. same bottom with black stains, and as I was only two leagues from land I anchored to await day.

"Mr. d'Iberville came on my board this night and I told him, that having come solely to aid him, we had but to follow his instructions and as to myself, I would follow him as long as my provisions would permit me and that he would deem me useful.

"On Sunday, January 25th, at 6 A. M. the wind was to the east and Mr. d'Iberville made the signals to set sail. I followed him, running along the coast. We put the cape to the west.

"The Biscayen (shallop) was ahead of us with Mr. Lescalette trying to discover some harbor or mouth of a river. . . . . .

"At 9 A. M. Lescalette signalled that he had reached the entrance of a river and came on board of Mr. d'Iberville's boat to tell him that he saw boats and they immediately came to warn me, but as soon as they boarded the fog became so thick that we had to anchor and they begged me to give the signals which were five cannon shots, that the vessels and fishing vessels anchor also. The ships in port answered, thinking it was their armadilla which was to pass there to go to Vera Cruz. The fog lasted till 3 or 4 P. M. when we perceived sails and vessels, one of which flew the white flag at the head of the main mast, and a shallop with many persons coming to us, but when it was near it stopped; we knew that it was because we had not yet shown our colors; as soon as we unfurled the flag the shallop went back to land and we sent no one on account of the late hour, but we anchored about one and a half miles. The next day, Tuesday 27th, Mr. d'Iberville sent Mr. de Lescalette at the break of day to ask permission to enter the port, under pretext of taking on water and wood. I did not carry any flame, leaving to Mr. d'Iberville the whole care as Your Lordship ordered in the given instructions. He sent a messenger to ask me to display my colors as my ship was the largest, and that they could very well turn out to be English from the news he had. They were Spaniards who had come to establish themselves since three or four months. They were in bad condition, and were even obliged to keep some of their men in irons whilst we were near, coming as they did from all parts of the world. They began a fort which is not finished; the country is so poor that the officers proclaim that they wish they were out of it. They say however that five or six leagues inward it is not the same.

"The commander of this country asked Mr. de Lescalette who commanded the vessels of the king; he told him it was I, and he sent me his sargent major with a letter expressing regrets not to be able to allow the ships of the King to enter the port as he was forbidden to permit any nation to do so, being a recent colony, not yet firmly established, and as to the wood and water which we might need, their men would furnish with their shallops as much as the King's ships needed and as to other refreshments they needed them more than us, having naught but what came from Vera Cruz. I kept the letters he wrote and if it pleases you I shall have the honor to forward them to you. He also offered the officers if they wished to land to receive them as best they could. Those who manned the shallop, the sargent major and the officers with them, all speaking good French, begged me for biscuit, saying they were starving on land and that, if we wanted to receive them, they and some of their comrades on

land would be delighted to leave this country and serve the King of France. I had them fed and sent them word to guard well against deserting because I would be obliged to send them back. As to the sargent major and the officers who came on board, from the way they ate, we saw that what had been said was true.

"In concert with Mr. d'Iberville, I informed the Governor that, not finding the King's ships in security, I would on the morrow sound the entrance of the river, that I might be familiar with it in case a south wind forced me into its mouth.

"On Wednesday I sent Mr. de Brache, lieutenant on the François, with a pilot who sounded up to the anchored vessels, whereupon the governor wrote and begged me to call back the shallops which were sounding, and after getting my letter saying that I did not feel secure, he sent me the royal pilot with orders for him to put me in safety at some place on the coast, but not in their port. Those people fear everything, they are very weak, they are few in numbers, and if we had orders to take their country, we would have done so at small cost. I kept this pilot until the eve of my departure from their port. He told me that there was a ship in the port with sails spread for the gallions, ready to leave for Vera Cruz, and that the governor was to leave on the 27th or 28th; that the arrival of the King's ships had retarded his departure and that of his ships. I forgot to say that the captain of one of these vessels came to dine on board. I showed him the ship; he found it very fine. I wrote to the governor on this captain's return, at Mr. d'Iberville's bidding, and told him that I was to sail along the coast in order to get news of some Canadians who left Canada to join the savages, and to serve on them the King's orders to retire.

"I had from this pilot, before sending him away, a description of this coast and asked if there was no danger to range alongside. He informed me that there was a bar a half a league out at sea. You will see it marked on the map I am sending you. He named these isles, isles of St. Diegue and, as I afterwards heard, was correct in what he said. I showed him the map you sent me and he said there were some places not well marked, but Mr. de Brache had one from his brother, who is at St. Diegue, which he found much better and which is certainly superior to the first as we saw in regard to this coast. I also asked if there were any strange ships on the coast, he said there were none. Then I asked Mr. d'Iberville if I was still useful to him, to execute orders given me. He answered that he might need me and begged me not to leave him, which I did as directed

by you, following him, Your Lordship, till the day he gave his packages saying I could leave when I wished.

"January 30th at 7 A. M. Mr. d'Iberville gave the order to start. Saturday, January 31st at 7 A. M. we set sail.

"On the 10th of February I dined with Mr. d'Iberville and he told me that as soon as it would be a little finer he would sail along the coast to try and speak to some savages, which he did the same day. He found a dugout with savages; as soon as they saw him they all made for land and took to the woods, except one good old man who had been wounded in the thigh, some days previous, by a wild bull, and who could not escape as his companions. Mr. d'Iberville made him understand that he was a friend, that he wished him no harm, and seeing that the poor old man was cold he made him a present of some shirts and a blanket, had him set on the ground and a fire lit for him on account of the intense cold. The savage thanked Mr. d'Iberville in his way and gave him to understand that he was leaving, but would come back the next day.

"Mr. d'Iberville retired but returned the next day, and found a great number of savages who received him very well. He took some on board with him and left in their place his brother and two Canadians. I saw them; they are all well built and robust and they told us that their nations were: The *Bayongonlas*, *Mongoulouchas* and *Anaxis*. I questioned them by sign and they answered like real hogs by an aspiration.

"Mr. d'Iberville who will trade with them will more particularly inform you of what he knows of them, if he can understand them.

"On the 20th of February, I dined with Mr. d'Iberville and he asked me if I was in condition to be able to give him provisions for his crew. I was too short to offer him any but had some flour and wine from my provision bought at Léogane. What I brought from France was partly spoiled. I offered it to him on condition that he would pay me what it had cost, so that I might buy more, or that he would have the sum refunded to me in the same kind by Mr. Ducasse. He wrote a letter to Mr. Ducasse who reimbursed me in kind. The same day he gave me his packages saying that I was free to leave when I chose, that he was going to look for the Mississippi and would leave the vessels where they were with Mr. de Surgeres. I asked the pilot if he had no acquaintances on this river. He said he knew no one but he had heard of a river which went up to Canada, which was beyond the isles of St. Diegue, but that at its mouth there was no water, only great floods, and so great a quantity of trees that they had formed a kind of bar and that he did not think

there was more than one fathom of water. Mr. d'Iberville will have the honor of telling you about it." Chateaumorant then gives an account of all the mishaps which attended his return trip to Léogane, San Domingo, where he arrived June 23, 1700.

Proceeding on its way the expedition arrived at Mobile Bay and touched at an island which they called Massacre, on account of the large quantities of bones found there. This island was renamed Dauphine Island by Bienville and Diron d'Artaguette in 1711, the French authorities in Paris finding that the gruesome appellation was not encouraging to immigration. The next islands on their route were the two Chandeleur islands, a barren stretch of land named from the recent celebration of the feast of Candlemas; Isle Bourbon, now Cat Island, infested by raccoons which the French took for cats; Horn island, (granted in 1717 to Bienville); Deer Island which Raudot petitioned for as a grant "to raise rabbits;" and Ship Island, where the greater part of the expedition emcamped whilst the rest remained on Chandeleur island.

From Ship Island Iberville and Bienville headed a reconnoitering party to the mainland. The variegated hues of foliage which clothes the gulf coast in mellow beauty in Autumn had passed away, but the abundant and stalwart trees on that thickly wooded coast precludes its ever taking on the forlorn aspect which denuded trees, draped with sombre grey moss, impart to some shores.

Reaching the bay they came upon seven dugouts with savages who fled to the woods at their approach, but they were able to catch up with an old man and a woman whom they loaded with presents, at the same time giving the man a mat to sleep on, and lighting a fire to keep him warm; unfortunately, as La Harpe relates, the grass caught fire during the night and though the French rescued the aged savage and cared for him he expired shortly after.

However, the woman whom they had treated so cordially in duced the savages to meet the white men. These savages belonged to the peaceful *Bilocchy* tribe. Iberville named the bay Biloxi, and the next day met the *Bayougoulas*. Having established friendly relations and exchanged presents they smoked the calumet, and as customary, when the ceremony was ended d'Iberville gave them the calumet which was made in the shape of an iron ship, adorned with "fleurs de lys." and then left them to follow out his mission and search for the delta of the Mississippi.

On February 27th, d'Iberville, Bienville and Sauvolle with 48 men left Ship Island, Iberville and Bienville in separate barks, and on the third day after their departure came in sight of a great ex-

panse of water which seemed like an angry flood. The wind howled and swept over them in widening gusts, the white crested waves rolled on, and broke with deafening sound against the shore. The heavy dark clouds lowered until they seemed to blend with the black foaming waters. Threatened by storm and wind no landing was possible on the spongy banks, when another obstacle rose before them in the shape of destructive reefs. Iberville, in desperation, drove his boats on them,—the slush parted,—the hollow of his hand filled with the muddy water and brought to his lips proved it to be sweet—and the end seemed to have been reached. As they ascended the river canebreaks, sun-baked prairies, and now and then a patch of primeval forest passed before their expectant eyes, but no sign of human life, but, even in that season, the air was vibrant with insect life.

They reached the *Bayougoulas* before being certain that they were in the Mississippi. The Mississippi which had been the river of the Immaculate Conception, bearing on its virgin bosom Marquette and Joliet; the river Colbert when it carried down to its mouth the indomitable Cavelier de la Salle, the river St. Louis in Iberville's day; the Indian Meschacebee, "Father of Waters," and the Malbouche, (with its destructive mouth), which went from the gulf to the lakes."

La Harpe says: "Mr. d'Iberville was uncertain as to his being in the Mississippi, finding none of the nations mentioned by La Salle. The reason thereof was that the Tangipahoas had been destroyed by the Quinipissas who had taken the name of Mougalachas. He was greatly satisfied that Mr. de Bienville, in searching for Father Athanase's breviary found in an Indian basket a prayer book (paire d'heures) in which were inscribed the names of several Canadians of Mr. de La Salle's detachment and a letter from Tonty to de La Salle. He wrote that having heard in Canada of his departure from France to found an establishment on this river, he had descended it to the sea with twenty Canadians and thirty Shawnee savages from the neighborhood of the Wabash. This news dispelled all doubts and confirmed the situation of the entrance of the Mississippi at 29° Lat.—(Journal historique de La Harpe. MSS. La. Hist. Society papers.)

Other relics of La Salle's expedition were found in possession of these Indians, among them Tonty's coat on a Mougalacha chief. All doubts laid to rest, the expedition continued on its way up the Mississippi as far as the settlement of the Houmas, visiting and conciliating the savage tribes and smoking the calumet or chanting it with them.

"The Calumet," says Gravier, "was among the North American Indians the mysterious symbol of honor and sworn faith. Sceptres and crowns in their day were never the object of more sincere or more deserved respect.

"The cross of honor and the flag have a more restricted significance. The communion which bound the knights of the middle ages and the love feasts of the Christians of the first centuries are more faithful images of it.

"In the memory of man the faith of the calumet was never violated. There was one for peace and one for war. They were distinguished by the color of the feathers ornamenting them. Red, color of blood was special to the war calumet.

"The calumet, a kind of pipe, was formed of a perfectly polished red stone. The stem, two feet long, was trimmed with gaudy feathers and women's hair.

"In affairs of minor importance it was smoked around, passing it from hand to hand. In a great ceremony, in honor of a distinguished stranger or a neighboring nation, or to declare war they danced it."—(Translation.)

In some tribes the calumet was made of marble. The ceremony ended by the gift of the calumet to the honored guests.

At the Bayougoulas Iberville found the calumet with the fleurs de lys which he had given to the savages he met on the Biloxi coast.

On reaching the Houmas the explorers halted. Around the Houma village there was a pallissade of canes 10 feet high. Their temple was in the centre and had a circumference of 30 feet, the roof was made of split cane. Among the tribes of the lower Mississippi the chichicouchy rattles were used in their dances; they were made of gourds in which were enclosed a few pebbles.

From here the expedition redescended the river to the Ascantia river, otherwise the Bayou Manchac, and Iberville and Bienville separated, Iberville returning to Biloxi by way of Manchac through the lakes, and Bienville continuing to the mouth of the Mississippi. Iberville passed from Bayou Manchac through two lakes which he named Pontchartrain and Maurepas, after the minister of Marine of France, Count Pontchartrain, and the other for the Minister's son. Natchez was then one of the eight villages composing the Indian village of Theloel. Iberville called it Rosalie in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain. Many of the names then given by d'Iberville remain to this day to recall the French domination and the memory of the great man who founded Louisiana.

Manchac, which means Indian Pass, was long known as Iberville river; Plaquemine, from the French word for persimmon, which abound in that region; Pointe a la Hache and Pointe Coupee explain themselves; La Croix from the cross planted there by the explorers, and Baton Rouge from the leafless red stalks which grew there; Bay St. Louis for the King of France, and Biloxi and Pascagoula from the tribes inhabiting them.

Iberville on his second voyage came through Bayou St. John where there was a well known Indian trail. Du Pratz says he came through Bayou Tchoupic, and that the deserted village of the Quinipissas was on the banks of Bayou Saint John. The conclusion, either way, is that Iberville on this trip covered or came very near the present site of New Orleans, on which spot formerly stood the ancient village of Tchouchouma. In Gravier's "Decouvertes et etablissements par le sieur Cavelier de la Salle," there is a map by Franquelin, dated 1684, which bears the site and name of Tchouchouma. When the French ascended the Mississippi in 1699 this village was but a memory; it had been destroyed, or the savages, as it is usual with them, had sought fresh vantage grounds.

Bienville and Sauvolle continued down the river, but the brothers met at a point 18 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. The ground covered had alternately been swamps and canebreaks, but here it was high and of easy access, so they determined to erect a fort. They had laid it out when Tonty appeared among them. Maltot remained to finish the fort and Iberville, Tonty and Bienville started out to explore Red River. The first cotton planted in Louisiana came from seed given by Iberville to the Houmas on this expedition.

In these explorations Iberville was accompanied by Serigny, Bienville and Sauvolle. Many historians have contended that Sauvolle was not a Lemoyne, that Iberville and Bienville never referred to him as their brother. It must be remembered that Sauvolle's career in Louisiana was of short duration. Iberville, omnipotent in the colonies from powerful influence he commanded in France, obtained for Sauvolle a nomination as governor and placed the younger brother second in command. In a Lemoyne genealogy he is mentioned as Sieur de Sauvolle, Governor of Louisiana. Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, a recognized authority on Louisiana history, says in his "Dernières Annéés de la Louisiane," page 6, speaking of the voyages on the Mississippi: "A month later d'Iberville returned to France to secure reinforcements, leaving the government of the colony to his two brothers: Lemoyne de Sauvolle and Lemoyne de Bienville." Further he mentions that Iberville on his

return to Biloxi brought "to his brother Sauviolle his nomination as governor," left him some provisions and recommended to his brother Bienville to continue the progressive exploration and occupation of the Mississippi.

The Mississippi and Red River expeditions ended, Bienville remained at the fort on the Mississippi and Iberville returned to Biloxi and began the construction of a fort on Biloxi bay. It had "four bastions and 12 pieces of artillery." When the clearing was made and the colonists housed, Iberville, the count de Surgères and Father Athanase Membré returned to France, leaving Sauvolle commander and Bienville as first lieutenant.

Now begins properly speaking the Bienville record as father of Louisiana as well as "father of New Orleans." In this short sketch of Bienville many incidents will seem to have been passed over lightly and others to have been wholly forgotten, but Grace King's able and fertile pen has left so little for those who come after to glean that one hardly dares to tread the ground she has so thoroughly covered.

Sauvolle's first act of authority was to import provisions from San Domingo; his next care to establish friendly relations with the savages. The usual presents were given by the French to the savage tribes. It afterwards became a yearly duty. The English in order to gain over the savages tried to outdo the French in generosity, until the fund for presents weighed heavily on the French, and to prove efficacious it should have been inexhaustible. They accepted the custom almost as a tribute and instead of considering it a generosity classed it as cowardice.

Sauvolle, following Iberville's instructions sent Bienville to explore the bayous of the Mississippi and it was on his way back to Biloxi that he met an English sloop of war. This episode from which English Turn took its name is mentioned by d'Iberville in a letter to Ponchartrain.

Excerpts from d'Iberville's letter or journals of his second voyage to Louisiana:

"On the morning of January 9th Sieur de Sauvolle came on board and told me that an English sloop of 12 cannons commanded by Captain Banc came into the Mississippi river towards the end of September; my brother Bienville had gone there with 25 men to sound its mouth. He found this sloop 25 miles in the river and ordered it to retire, otherwise he would compel it to do so. The captain did not hesitate and made for the sea. He learned from him that in October 1688 three ships had left London to form an estab-

lishment on the Mississippi, that they had put in to harbor at Carolina from which two boats left, one of 24 cannons and the other of 12.

"Having gone to the end of the gulf searching for the Mississippi which, according to relations, was 100 leagues further west, he had found no port except in a bay 80 miles west from here, between islands where he found enough water for large boats, but no river, only a sandy coast, well wooded near which there was a Spanish settlement on the banks of a small river.

"From there they followed the coast, going east, without finding any port up to the Mississippi in which the small boat had entered, the large one having retraced its route to Panicos, having a meeting fixed at the Judjos river on White Cape."

White Cape was the east end of Santa Rosa Island.—(*Translator's note.*)

"This Captain asked many questions about several Englishmen from Carolina who must be on land higher up, where he wished to lay up. He threatened my brother to come back with boats able to enter the river, where he had found but 10 or 12 feet of water, to make an establishment on one of its banks. He pretended that the English had discovered it more than 50 years ago and taken possession of it with the intention of founding a colony there. I do not believe that the threat will be carried out.

"Several Englishmen from Carolina were at the Chickasaws where they trade deer skins and savage slaves. They come from Carolina by ascending a river which ends at high mountains over which they make a portage and carry, by means of mules, their provisions to the Chickasaws.

"This report came from a missionary priest from Canada, who was sent to the Tonicas who inhabit the banks of a river which empties into the Mississippi, 20 leagues above Tensas. He went there with one of the Tonicas to see if there were any Canadians with beaver skins to sell.

"These Englishmen solicit the Chickasaws to kill the missionaries, which fact was made known by other savages, our allies. I shall take measures to take these Englishmen, first drawing them away from the Chickasaws, for fear of giving offense to the latter who are our friends.

"Mr. de Sauvolle will have the honor, Your Lordship, of rendering an account of all that has happened at the fort, where there is nothing extraordinary. Four men died there. Coming and going from different places I passed there in January for soundings and in-

vestigation for establishing a harbor without finding anything good and commodious.

"Messrs. d'Avion and Montigny, missionary priests from Quebec, placed at the Tensas, came to the fort last summer with twelve Canadians who joined them at the Arkansas, to which they returned.

"The Oumas and Bayou Goulas reported that the Natchez killed Mr. de Montigny and one of his men who went to their village. This news gave me much grief to see ourselves at war with that country and to see the Oumas and the Bayou Goulas declare it to each other. This precludes my sending persons up the river in safety and stops communications between the Illinois and the sea, for which consideration I believe a reconciliation with the Natchez necessary, and to also bring about peace between the Bayou Goulas and the Oumas, to be able to penetrate more safely and sensibly into the lands to discover the commercial advantages we may expect in this country.

"I believe, your Lordship, that it was necessary to take possession of the Mississippi by a small establishment, for fear the English might make one knowing that we have none, and that it might be a pretext to maintain themselves. there.

"For this reason I left February 1st, in the long boat with two feluccas, and sixty men, and all that I needed for my journey to these lands. On February 3rd at 9 a. m. I entered the river, in a strong east wind and by the East Pass where I found but eleven feet of water, and the entrance difficult of access, the channel being but twenty paces wide. In the two other passes there, water is only seven and eight feet high. At midnight I met my brother Bienville and six men who were eighteen leagues up in the river, the nearest spot to the sea in the river which is not inundated. A Bayou Goula was brought from the village. He assured us that to the right, going up the river, there are six or seven leagues of land which are never under water at high water time. On the edge there is a border of wood 50 paces in width of oaks, ash, elm, poplar, and back of them prairies 75 leagues in depth in which are bouquets of trees. "I set workmen to cutting down the trees and squaring, in order to built a square house of 28 x 28 feet, two stories high with machicoulations, two four pounders, surrounded by a ditch of eight feet width. I shall leave my brother Bienville in command here with 15 men.

"On the 10th I sent a felucca loaded with provisions up the river as high as the Bayou Goulas. This winter is very severe, and strong south winds and heavy rains delay my work.

"On the 16th, Mr. de Tonty arrived in a canoe with two of his men, and 19 Canadians in five canoes who had joined his party. Some are from Tamaroua, some married and at the Illinois; they brought beaver skins which they left at the Bayou Goulas. They relied on finding merchandise here and hoped to dispose of their beavers which embarrass them greatly. I heard from Mr. de Tonty that there is no truth in the report that the Natchez have killed Mr. de Montigny, that they are our friends as well as the other nations.

"Being ready to ascend the river of La Sablonnière I invited Mr. Tonty to go with me which he did with pleasure. Considering that it was for the King's service I induced the other Canadians to do likewise, paying them as the other Canadians for the time I employed them, in powder and other merchandise which I have here as presents, and which I shall use to satisfy them. I hope, Your Lordship, that this will meet with your approval. I needed this aid, not having 30 Canadians to take with me, 20 being sick and the others at the fort on the river.

"Mr. de Tonty denies ever having written any "relations" of this country. Whoever did so made them on spurious memoirs to earn money.

"Mr. de Tonty will be of great assistance as he speaks the Illinois dialect and some of the Canadians will serve as interpreters.

"This reinforcement of good men will enable me to push much further on. I shall be at least two or three months on this journey in order to become well acquainted with the country in case I should be short of provisions, having only enough to last to the month of July. I have written to Mr. de Surgeres that it is advisable for him to return to France as soon as possible and to leave me, from his share, one month's provisions and more if he can, as he, like myself, has enough to last till the end of July.

"The 17th and 18th, there was a heavy sleet during the whole day and it was very cold. The 19th I left with Mr. de Tonty to go to my felucca 40 miles above on the river, at a portage of one league from Lake Pontchartrain to the river, where I made Mr. Lescalette come with all his baggage by the biscayen (a shallop or long boat); he will make pirogues at this portage and ascend the river.

"Mr. de Tonty and the other Frenchmen believe that he cannot, with safety, go to the Sioux without being plundered by the Illinois, who are determined that no Frenchmen shall go to the Sioux, their enemies, with munitions of war. They pillaged eleven Frenchmen,

who had 33,000 pounds of beaver skins on their return east last October.

I sent the larger long boat to sound the coast to the Appalachees and verify the report that the English are established at the bay of Carlos.

The long boat having burned, without our ever being able to find out who set fire to it, prevented me from sending east and west. I thought it was preferable to send to the Appalachees and find out what is going on there on account of the English who know a river in the land where they are which empties into the sea near Appalachicola.

"The establishment of the Spaniards which the English found about 90 leagues to the west of the Mississippi is where Mr. de La Salle went, and from which place he did not like to see the approach of other nations; I will hear news of this at the Cenis where I think they may be established.

"From the way the people above speak there are lead and copper mines in abundance beyond the Tamarouas. If I had been able to send for a sample I would have taken it away this year. I shall send a reliable man to look into this. The Tamarouas are 480 leagues from the sea coast in the upper part of the river. The Sioux, where where Mr. Lesueur* is going are about 800 leagues from it. The opinion of 15 men who followed this river is that Mr. Lesueur will not be able to reach it this year.

"I hope, Your Lordship, that before I leave this country I will know it well enough to make a faithful report.

"The 23rd I went to the portage from which I sent my brother with men to the Tensas to get a Shawnee who speaks all the dialects of the savages on the Sablonniere. This soldier will come over land to meet us at the Cadodaquias. The 26th I reached the Bayou Goulas with my feluccas which I rowed to bring in 10 marine guards and some of my men who were not able to go by land. The Canadians have about 4,000 fat dried beavers.

"I remain with profound respect, Your Lordship,

Your humble and obedient servant,

Signed: d'IBERVILLE."

Sauvolle during the short time he governed the colony proved that he was capable and firm. His first care was to send to San Domingo for provisions. Famine was a frequent guest in those first colonial years, the colonists and the mother country being bent only on the discovery of mines. France exploited Louisiana, but the

help sent was so irregular that Bienville from his fort on the Mississippi, had to send his starving men to hunt at Bay St. Louis, (1701) and Sauvolle gave the missionaries going to the Natchez, 15 pounds of beads to pay for corn, which they were to put in a hut so that it would be ready for those who would come for it, (1701). Sauvolle writes that he is obliged to extend charity to travelers, of whom there are sixty in Biloxi, though he is hardly in a position to succor them. They had come down from Canada with peltries and beaver skins and he awaited orders from the mother country; in the meanwhile he had not allowed a single beaver skin to be embarked on the vessel which carries this letter, (1701). A memorial from Canada to France complained of the exodus of Canadian traders to lower Louisiana where they disposed of their peltries and skins and thereby hurt the commerce of Canada.

Sauvolle, following out d'Iberville's instructions, sent Bienville to explore the bayous of the Mississippi and on a mission of conciliation among the different savage tribes.

Sauvolle was for establishing the principal post on the Mississippi. He considered Biloxi to be of minor importance, and wrote to Count Pontchartrain that the destitution of the neighboring savages was such that if the hope of discovering mines was not realized the mother country would never be reimbursed for the expenses incurred.

To discourage him still more, famine could not be avoided, notwithstanding the help of the friendly savages, and, following it, came that dread scourge, yellow fever, to which the ambitious and promising young commander fell a victim.

Bienville came from the fort on the Mississippi to replace him, and though this sketch is supposed to deal with Bienville in New Orleans, it would be incomplete if some account was not given of his previous services at Fort Bourbon on the Mississippi, where Iberville had left a few Canadian families; in Biloxi, Dauphine Island, Mobile, etc. He acquired great power over the savages, who loved him for his kindness but dreaded his unflinching sense of justice. He conciliated some savage tribes by presents and promises, but others he had to subdue. His provisions were scanty and his force of men inadequate, but his will and spirit were indomitable and he achieved success which surpassed all expectations. Famine again made ravages in the embryo colony, and the years following Sauvolle's death were strenuous ones for the young commander. There were several factions in the colony headed by the Curate de la Vente and La Salle, who was second in command.

D'Iberville's powerful influence in France thwarted their plans, but their open insolence did not abate. In 1704 *The Pelican* arrived at Biloxi with provisions, ammunition, two companies of soldiers and 27 women and girls, but it also brought the plague from Havana. Bienville reports 25 deaths on board, 22 dead at the fort and two-thirds of the garrison stricken down. In this letter he mentions that there is no fresh meat and that the sick are nourished with broth made of salt meat. He begs the King to maintain a transport for cattle in order to end this hardship.

The curate and La Salle continued their intrigues and finally succeeded in having Bienville recalled to France, but de Muys, who was to replace him, died before reaching Louisiana. Bienville, awaiting the appointment of another commander, remained in command, but La Salle, caught in his own trap, was replaced by Diron d'Artaguette, who having investigated, according to orders, Bienville's administration, exonerated him of all the charges La Salle had brought against him. There are documents proving that Bienville at this time, far from enriching himself at the expense of the government, was so poor that he had to borrow money to meet his daily expenses.

It was in this interim that Bienville proposed to exchange three savage slaves for two negroes. The only colonists who up to this time had amassed any kind of fortune were tavern keepers who dispensed liquor.

Diron d'Artaguette in a report to France mentions a few colonists between the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain. Gayarre places this small colony of "5 to 7 inhabitants who have planted an arpent of corn" at Gentilly. These were the first farmers of Louisiana, for it seems to have been a fixed idea with the other colonists that they were to receive everything necessary for their subsistence from France.

To replace De Muys, Lamothe Cadillac was sent to Louisiana, and if his first memorial had carried persuasion with it, Louisiana was doomed. He winds up all his disparaging remarks by calling the colony, in 1716, "a beast without head nor tail." We have not to deal with his mistakes, but the consequence. There is no doubt that this, added to d'Artaguette's disparagement of Louisiana, determined the concession to Crozat of the exclusive commerce of all the territory owned by France between Carolina and Mexico, and of that lying on the Mississippi, the Wabash, (St. Jerome river) and the Missouri, up to Illinois. In this charter it is evident that France claimed what is now Texas. This monopoly was granted in 1712 and was supposed

to last fifteen years. It gave Crozat exclusive right over all the known and unknown products of Louisiana, and a sum of fifty thousand pounds or francs was to be allowed yearly by the French government for the salaries of officers of the crown. Its government was vested in a Superior Council.

It obligated Crozat to send yearly two ships and a fixed number of colonists to Louisiana, and it was this charter which instituted the slave trade in Louisiana. France admitted that once a year they should send a ship to the coast of Guinea for negroes. The governor resided at Dauphine Island. During Cadillac's administration Bienville was sent against the Natchez, who had murdered four Canadians, but with his usual obstinacy Cadillac gave him but 34 men with which to meet 800 Natchez savages.

Bienville with this small force knew that he was powerless, but his sagacious mind soon formed a plan which he carried out to the advantage of the French where they had nothing to expect but defeat from overwhelming numbers. The Great Sun, the Little Sun, and the Tattooed Serpent were detained as prisoners until Bienville had obtained satisfaction and the heads of three murderers. The fort which was later on to become the scene of a bloody massacre was built at this time.

Crozat's monopoly was a signal failure, and in 1717 he gave up his charter, which was turned over to a company registered in Paris September 6, 1717, as the West India Company, with a capital of one hundred millions, with privileges as extended as those granted to Crozat. There were clauses added for the protection of the colonists. For instance, no taxes were to be levied on them before the expiration of three years.

Bienville was again nominated as governor, and in 1718 three ships arrived with three companies of soldiers and 69 colonists. Bienville was now able to carry out his cherished dream of a post on the Mississippi, for which he foresaw the brightest possibilities. The spot for the establishment of New Orleans had long been determined by Bienville. He immediately sailed for the Mississippi and left there 50 men to do the clearing under de Pailhoux, as commander. It must have been between the 14th and 16th of April, 1718, but in 1719 there were only four houses in New Orleans besides the Company's sheds. Diron d'Artaguette in a memorial to France says that New Orleans was really founded in 1722, for the men and convicts left under de Pailhoux's orders to clear the canebrake and begin building had done nothing. In 1719 a terrible hurricane and inundation occurred and made all work impossible. In 1720 the petty war,

relative to the establishment of this post was still rife. Manchac, in the interior and communicating with the lakes by Iberville river, was deemed by many the most advantageous position; others thought the principal post should be at Natchez, founded since 1716; most of the colonists preferred the capital to remain at Biloxi, and Le Blond de la Tour, chief engineer of the colony, belonged to this party. He had been ordered to look into the situation of New Orleans, and to remove it, if necessary, to a more favorable site, but he neglected these instructions.

De Pauger sounded the mouth of the river. He first found 10 feet and later on 14 feet of water at the entrance, making it navigable for the largest ships of the Company. In 1721 Bienville commissioned him to make the plan of the city. When de Pauger arrived the convicts, unwilling to work, fled to the woods, and he had to appeal to de Pailhoux for laboring hands. The commander put an officer and a few soldiers under his orders; and with these de Pauger finished the clearing and laid out the plan of our present city.

Dumont says that the first circuit contained but four blocks defended by a parapet of ditches, the second eight blocks facing the river by five in depth. In 1721 there were not 500 inhabitants in New Orleans, which was to comprise "all the land on both sides of the river St. Louis," and that included between the river and Lake Pontchartrain, and from "Lake Maurepas to the east, ascending to the country of the Tonicas." De Pauger had to contend against the ill-will exhibited by the clerk of the Company who threw all sorts of obstacles and delays in his way; against insubordination and laziness among the laborers, and persecution in every shape, but he persevered, and when the plan was completed he sent a copy to Le Blond de la Tour and one to Bienville.

Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage says that the plan was "mislaid between New Orleans and Biloxi." It remained in Le Blond de la Tour's possession and he never produced it until ordered to do so by the authorities in Paris. It may be easily conceived that Bienville, who at first sight had discerned all the advantages of our present site, lost no time in forwarding de Pauger's report on the Mississippi and the plan.

Bienville held out for his cherished idea against intrigue and opposition until the order came to transfer the seat of government to New Orleans.

In 1723 we find Adrien de Pauger at work at the Balize. In 1724 the streets of New Orleans were first named. The city extended from Esplanade to Bienville and from the river to Rampart. Bar-

racks and Hospital were not then open; the first street then mentioned is rue de l'Arsenal, which afterwards became "rue des Ursulines," St. Philippe, du Maine, Ste Anne, Orleans (the widest), St. Peter, Toulouse, St. Louis and Bienville. The river front extended to what is now Decatur and was called "rue du Quay"; then comes Chartres, later on the portion from Esplanade to Orleans was called Conde and the rest kept its name, Chartres; the next street was "Royale" and lastly Bourbon. Dauphine was opened later and gradually the city extended in length and breadth.

The MSS. of the Louisiana Historical Society show how little appreciation was accorded to Pauger. His letters to France are long recitals of the wrongs inflicted on him. Even his letters were intercepted and tampered with. It was on his complaint that was issued the decree inflicting a severe penalty for interception and opening letters addressed to another. The development of the suit of Pauger vs. Bienville seems like a tragedy, for the man who did almost as much as Bienville towards the founding of New Orleans.

He was evicted from the land he had cleared and cultivated and on which he had erected a house, but after his death De la Chaise claimed and obtained for his heirs the price expended upon the improvements put on this land, and de Noyan, who represented Bienville, turned the sum over to the estate of de Pauger. De Pauger was one of the first proprietors of Pointe St. Antoine, later on Pointe Marigny (at the site of Vallette St., Algiers). He died in 1726 and was buried in the Parish Church, which on the same site preceded our present Cathedral of St. Louis. One of the streets in olden times was named rue St. Adrien from him, but it has long since been forgotten. New Orleans seems to have been lavish in memorials to all passing heroes, but entirely oblivious of those to whom it owes its existence.

True, it was the transmission of Crozat's charter to the Company of the West India Company which determined and allowed the founding of New Orleans, but it was Bienville's stubborn perseverence in his design and de Pauger's accurate science and energy which were the starting point of the rights we possess today. Their faith in the future did not waver, and time has fully justified it. Laws' magnificent scheme fell into fragments under treachery. Louisiana, doomed to another change, weak and panting under a terrible burden, was to emerge from its successive mutations strong and brilliant. Truly the history of the world is not made by chance.

When Bienville founded New Orleans his first care was to protest against sending to the infant colony such persons as would retard rather than advance its growth and prosperity; he wanted no

useless mouths to feed, he pleaded for a clean city and his plea was granted, as may be proved by an ordiance from France prohibiting the importation of criminals, vagabonds, etc., to his colony. It was customary for European nations to send their criminals and turbulent element to their colonies in the new world. What Bienville obtained for Louisiana was not extended to the other French colonies, but Bienville obtained redress in New Orleans.

Since it has so often been brought up against us let us mention the girls who came to New Orleans. Those who came from the house of correction went to Pascagoula; those who came under charge of the gray sisters had been, as demanded "raised in piety and drawn from sources above suspicion, and knew how to work." As to those sent to New Orleans in 1728, (De Villiers du Tarrage says, 1727), they were virtuous girls of whom no descendant need be ashamed. They were entrusted to the care of the Ursulines, where they remained until married. Le Mascrier gives an amusing account of their landing, the precautions taken to guard them, the speed with which their respective marriages came off, and the quarrel over the last remaining one, for whom lots were cast. "One alone," he writes, "had come willingly and was called the damsel of good will." These girls were called the "filles de la cassette" from the small box or trunk given them by the King.

The mother country had forbidden the granting of lands in free tenure from Manchac down to the gulf, but it encouraged concessions of two or three arpents frontage by a depth of 60 arpents to different families of workmen and soldiers. The purpose of this ordinance was to increase the number of inhabitants, to hold them near together, above and below New Orleans, so that, in case of attack, the entrance from the gulf side might be adequately defended. The lands conceded were to be partly cleared and cultivated within the first six months and a verbal process made of taking possession of grant, letters patent registered, land to be completely fenced, front, rear and sides. The colonists neglected these conditions and their indifference gave rise to discussions and quarrels. The records of those days abound in suits of expropriation, recovery of land, etc. The Company provided negroes to aid in cultivation, and they were paid for in installments at stated periods. Some of the colonists sold these negroes before they had finished paying for them. They were obliged to obtain permission from the Company to sell even a part of their land. Hunting and fishing were free throughout the colony.

In 1723 it was decreed that concessions which had not been cleared and cultivated or had otherwise failed to comply with the

conditions imposed on them should revert to the Company of the Indies, which Company was free to concede them to other colonists. Abandoned lands likewise reverted to the Company.

That same year the King reduced the quantity of the land to be conceded from 60 arpents to 20 arpents; those however who had more than 20 arpents in cultivation were confirmed in their titles of possession of all the cultivated land and the surplus went to the Company.

The lands granted were paid for four years after taking possession of them. To enable the Company to construct churches, presbyteries and hospitals, a tax was levied on each negro head. They tried in the beginning of the colony to concede lands carrying with them the title of "sieur," but this fell through immediately and the "sieurs" in Louisiana came from France and Canada. The fact is that the best part of our population were hardy Canadians, some with titles and others of humble origin who had come to build a home and seek for fortune.—Compiled from Notes from Margry and MSS. of Louisiana Historical Society.

Concessions granted to the colonists with the purpose of encouraging agriculture would have been of no avail if the Company of the Indies had not allowed and encouraged the importation of negroes from the coast of Guinea. Negroes and negresses, in good physical condition, above 17 years, were called "piece d'Inde," which meant that they were property of the Company. In 1721 about 900 negroes came from the coast of Africa, but one of the frigates burned at sea with its human freight and only 500 reached Louisiana.

A colony of Germans sent to Law's concession (1721) as colonists lingered long at Biloxi before obtaining transportation to the Mississippi. Famine survened and they were decimated not only by sickness and privation, but by poison from ravenously devouring plants, unknown to them, to appease their hunger. On June 4, 1722, another company of 250 Germans, under Chevalier d'Arensbourg, a Swede, arrived in Louisiana, and with them came the news of Law's failure and flight. One may imagine the despair of the colonists, and the destitution which followed this news; but France seemed to shake off its usual indifference; a shipment of provisions reached the colony and hope revived, but the hurricane of 1722 again threw the colonists into desperate straits. The only remedy which could be suggested as alleviation of their misery was free passage in the Company's ships for those whose discouragement led them to wish to return to France. Among these were the lately arrived German colonists. Bienville to retain them conceded lands to them 20 miles above New Orleans,

on both sides of the river, in the present parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist. D'Arensbourg was named commander of the "German coast" and these men became the most successful and thrifty cultivators of Louisiana. Bienville placed many of these destitute families on his concession which he partitioned into minor tracts. A sale to Rodolphe Guillard by Veurer, a German vassal of Bienville, shows on what terms the lands were given. In 1727, Veurer, with the consent of de Noyan, acting for Bienville, turned this tract over to Guillard on a yearly rental of 6 farthings an arpent or 36 francs in all. He was held to 12 days labor in the year for benefit of Mr. de Bienville, and also to furnish him 12 capons. Veurer owed 372 francs and Guillard accepted this responsibility.

In this so called German company there were men of different nationality: Pictot, aged 50, came from Moncoutour, Brittany; Gaspard Toubs, Erizman and Maurice Kobel were from Switzerland; Jacques Poché, was from Artois, France; Joseph Waguespack, was from Alsatia, which was then a French province and had been one since 1648; the Verret family of the "German coast" came from Quebec, Canada, etc.

About this time the Company of the Indies divided Louisiana into nine districts: Mobile, New Orleans, Biloxi, Alibamons, Natchez, Yazoo, Nachitoches, Kaskaskia and Illinois, which had been incorporated in the government of Louisiana in 1717.

In 1723 Bienville had the satisfaction of transferring the seat of government and his residence to New Orleans. There were then about one hundred houses and two hundred inhabitants in the city, and the distress was such that the governor implored the Company to send salted meats to save them from starvation. With all these internal troubles Bienville had not been spared anxiety from without. The recurrence of quarrels with the turbulent Natchez savages came from illicit trade between them and the French colonists, and finally led to a second Natchez war. Bienville again subdued them and claimed the heads of the assassins of the Frenchmen, but his efforts and success brought no satisfaction within the colony. Intrigues went on increasing in importance and numbers and finally Hubert's calumnious accusations occasioned his recall to France. His last act was to promulgate the Black Code for the government of the numerous negro slaves indispensable to the planter. This code was so complete and so deserving of commendation that O'Reilly adopted it for Spain with only a few minor changes. Bienville had been in Louisiana 34 years when recalled. He presented a memorial to the Minister justifying his administration of the colony, recalling

his campaigns, his services, his discoveries, the hardships endured, the attachment of his family to the King in whose service seven brothers had given up their lives, he and three others still being in the service, faithfully performing their duties to crown and country.

His departure did not mend matters; his cousin de Boisbriant, governed the colony until the arrival of Perrier, named to succeed him.

Bienville had obligated the planters to make levees before each plantation, and under Perrier this work took a more general aspect. In 1727 Perrier announced that the levee was finished before New Orleans, that it was "nine hundred fathoms long by eighteen in width and heighth. This year it will extend six leagues above and six leagues below the city, and these extensions, though not as strong as the city levees, will prevent inundation."

There was a canal on Bourbon street and every lot was surrounded by a ditch. Bienville had intended to connect the river and bayou St. John by a canal but had not been able to carry out his plans. He had succeeded in driving the colonists to cultivation of the land and success had followed, holding out a promise of future prosperity. Harvests were abundant; rice, indigo and tobacco became staple products; the soil produced native fruit, and others, such as oranges and figs were readily naturalized. The impulse was given and Louisiana under an experienced administration would have progressed rapidly, but insubordination was always rampant in Louisiana, and the outside conditions demanded so much attention that it was difficult to quell the turbulent spirit and dissensions within. Bienville had held the savages in check by his individuality. They knew that any hostile act would be swiftly followed by retribution. Perrier tried to keep all the tribes on the Mississippi from the Arkansas post to the delta in peace; he made presents to the Chickasaws to induce them to harass the English; he had tried to fortify the different posts but had met with no response, and finally the brutality and despotism of the commander at the Natchez post brought on a conspiracy which was intended to be general, and which, if it had not been thwarted in its unity by a Natchez savage woman, would not have left a single Frenchman on Louisiana soil. As it was, the massacres at the Natchez and Yazoo posts cost the French 250 lives at Natchez alone, and at the Yazoo post but one woman escaped. Even the Choctaws vacillated between joining the conspiracy or denouncing it. The Chickasaws were the instigators of this conspiracy, though then at peace with the French, and after the ineffectual campaign undertaken by Perrier, to punish the

Natchez, they gave refuge to the Natchez fugitives. Diron d'Artaguette throws the blame of the failure of the French to obtain satisfaction from the Natchez on Governor Perrier.

Perrier in his report says that he cannot sufficiently eulogize those who took part in the retaliating expedition. Perrier himself acted treacherously towards the Natchez chiefs whom he made prisoners when they had come at his instance under a flag of truce. The Great Sun, the Little Sun, 450 women and children and other prisoners were sent to Hispanola to be sold as slaves, and the Natchez through vengeance continued their depredations on the river. The Chickasaws espoused their cause and harassed the colony on land and water. Mr. de Beauchamp in a despatch (1731) complains of Perrier's hardness to colonists and foes and begs for Bienville's recall, as he alone could subdue the savages.

The Company of the Indies had held their charter 14 years and during that lapse of time had spent twenty million pounds; they now gave it up and Bienville was again sent to Louisiana as governor in 1733. Stopping at Cape François, San Domingo, he saw the Natchez chiefs who had been sold as slaves; they assured him that they had been goaded on to hostilities by cruelty and injustice, and that his return would bring tranquility to the colony.

A letter from Perrier, dated March 6, 1733, relates that as soon as Bienville arrived in New Orleans he transmitted the government to him, though Bienville, the eve, had sent him an insulting message by the Sieur de Macarty, who came to his house (intoxicated) and signified to him that he must at once remove his belongings or he would have them thrown on the street. Bienville, to Perrier's disgust and amazement, refused to be received before the troops, and thought it sufficient to be installed in presence of the Council. He criticizes Bienville's design of concluding a treaty of peace with the Chickasaws and thanks the Minister for his recall.

Bienville immediately set to work to clothe the destitute troops, to study the changes in the colony, in order to ascertain its needs and know what posts he should reinforce. The barracks were not habitable; he suggested a new building and pavilions adjoining the barracks as lodgings for the officers. He also petitioned the King for a year's pay to the retired soldiers who had been formed into companies to fight the Natchez. He expected them to remain as inhabitants after their discharge if the gratification was allowed. He asked for the same compensation for those serving at l'isle Royale and thereby retained an industrious and useful unit as population. He also claimed a shipment of guns to replace those of the garrison,

out of service from use and rust. As products of Louisiana, he mentions: Indigo, abandoned for the culture of tobacco; rice; sugar cane, for which he dreads the frost; cotton, sea island cotton, a failure, but Siam cotton comes abundantly and without labor; the seed being hard to separate a mill was invented of which great results were expected. He speaks of silk, (the Ursuline orphanage, the cradle of the fabrication of silk in New Orleans); hemp, results not satisfactory; linen, fine and good; bray, tar, etc. In this memorial Bienville and Salmon also mentioned their intention of renewing commerce with the Spaniards "which had been surrendered through bad faith and incapacity," their wish to foster and protect the establishment of the Jesuits for the welfare of the colony; he states that the fund of 5000 pounds which the King allows for maintainance of the hospital is insufficient, his Majesty having 800 men in the troops, two-thirds of whom are continually ill with fevers and dysentery. This same year famine and an epidemic of small-pox visited the colony, and desertions increased from want and fear of the plague; the savages profited to become more aggressive, and Bienville was obliged to invoke the aid of Beauharnais, who sent the Canadian savages against the Chickasaws.

Bienville on his return found that the feelings of the savages towards the French had greatly changed since the Natchez war. His influence over them had been unbounded. Cadillac, who was his enemy, was forced to recognize it, but Bienville now found the different tribes in sympathy with the English and seeming to disdain the French since the Natchez war. The Chickasaws and Alibamons were almost English allies and the faithful Choctaws and Illinois were on the verge of a break with the French. Bienville realized the difficulties of the situation, but, with his usual pertinacity, undertook to overcome them. He had never allowed the savages to come to New Orleans or Biloxi for their presents. He gave the chief an individual one, and those remitted to him intended for the nation he distributed as he chose. After Perrier the chiefs were numerous; the customs were so different among the savages and so well rooted that it was impossible to return to the old order of things. All these chiefs controlled a party and had to be dealt with according to their influence. The Natchez, during some time after Bienville's return, remained quiet, but with that absolute quietude which portends evil, the Illinois and Ouabache tribes were uncertain, the Nachitoches had for some time been more than restless, the Osages had killed eleven French hunters. The colony had every reason to fear that they were on all sides surrounded by treachery and danger. Bienville had little

hope of re-establishing the conditions which existed in his previous term. Perrier's domineering spirit, want of discernment, cruelty and weakness, had borne bitter fruits. Conciliation was possible with some, and war on others was inevitable.

The Choctaw chief called Red Shoe, in 1734, was invited by the English to visit their settlements in Carolina. The French had shown this chief very little consideration; the English gave him a commission, the title of King, a medal, presents and the flag of Great Britain, which he proudly displayed on his return among the Choctaws. The Jesuit Father Beaudoin was Bienville's friend and had great ascendency over the Choctaws, among whom he spent many years as a missionary. He counselled Bienville and used his influence over them to the advantage of the French, but they remained divided in their sympathy between the French and the English. Red Shoe let no pretext go by to thwart the plans of the French and de Lery reports that, while the troops were on the march in the Natchez and Chickasaw campaigns, the English came into the Choctaw camp with twelve horses laden with provisions and merchandise and traded with these savages. The Choctaws had 32 villages, and the scarcity of French provisions made it difficult to supply their wants and facilitated the intrigues of the English traders.

Bienville felt the coils of savage warfare tightening around him. He could put but 200 soldiers in the field and his savage allies could not be relied on. The Chickasaws had 450 well armed warriors and had erected fortifications. They had five palisaded forts and their cabins were surrounded by triple rows of stakes and so covered as to make them fire proof. In a letter to France, (1736), the writer says that miners and not soldiers would be required to destroy these Indians as they lived buried like badgers in huts like ovens covered with thatched straw roofs. The roofs, he declares, would burn but the hut, in the shape of a half circle, made of mud a foot thick, around and above, is indestructible by fire or ammunition. They are moreover so disposed that they held together and defended each other.—(Margry's notes.)

Bienville and d'Artaguette had planned to meet and take the savages between two fires, but d'Artaguette reached the place in March and Bienville, owing to continued rains, arrived only in the month of May. d'Artaguette, no longer able to hold his savages, gave the signal for attack. The Illinois and Miamis abandoned the French and d'Artaguette and many brave officers lost their lives. Some Iroquois had been in d'Artaguette's command and on their return excited the Hurons and Ottawas against the Chickasaws. A

letter to France (Feb. 21, 1737,) denies that Mr. d'Artaguette and all his officers were left dead on the battle field with Pere Senac and seventeen others: "These unfortunates were thrown alive into two fires prepared by the savage women who watched them burn to death." The slave Avoyelle, a prisoner of the Chickasaws, relates these facts which she witnessed. She also declared that during the preparations for this barbarous holocaust the Frenchmen and the black robe sang as is the custom of the savages who value a warrior's courage by the sound more or less loud of his voice when death is inflicted. The savages only spared the lives of two soldiers whom they are to exchange for one of their chiefs named Courseac whom Mr. de Bienville holds as a prisoner of war.

After d'Artaguette's defeat, the Illinois post was re-enforced with men and munitions and Bienville was planning a second campaign. The confederate savages comprised the Chickasaws, the Natchez, the Chouanous, etc. They numbered about 800 and Bienville deemed it imprudent to march against them with less than one thousand good soldiers.

In 1739 Beauharnais sent a detachment commanded by the Baron de Longueil and Lesueur wrote from his post at "Tombecke," that the Choctaws were well disposed towards the French. Red Shoe, dissatisfied with the English, was willing to serve Bienville. The Canadian forces and those from the colony were to meet at a point near the Chickasaw settlement. The reconnoitering of the ground, by the engineer de Verges made for the last campaign was to serve in the present one but it no longer existed and Sausier and de Noyan sought another. There were in the army counting savages and whites in Canadian and local forces, about 3,600 men. Yellow fever decimated the northern troops, and when a road was finally located by the engineer Broutin, their provisions were exhausted and they began a retreat. As Bienville retired Mr. Celeron and his Canadians and savages appeared and marched against the Chickasaws, but no battle took place. The Chickasaws humbly sued for peace which they obtained from Bienville by giving up Natchez savages and by binding themselves to the extermination of this nation which had been as prominent in North American annals as the fire-worshippers of the Orient. Celeron saved the honor of the French of the lower Mississippi and was the hero of this last campaign. Bienville's memorial of May 6, 1740, giving an account of these events is replete with excuses for this unfortunate campaign; he felt and says that the French cabinet would not be satisfied with results which did not justify the considerable sums expended in this cause.

When we consider Bienville's position during this second term, we can hardly blame him. He says in asking for his recall that "fate was against him," fate in the shape of traps laid by faithless and unscrupulous fellow-citizens bent on his undoing, and the years of maladministration and mistakes of his predecessor. He feared to let the propitious moment go by of seemingly dictating peace terms when later on he would have to accept them, for the weakness of the Louisiana colonists was apparent, and it was fostered and increased by dissension and the complete absence of that esprit de corps which would have made them strong.

That the peace concluded would be of short duration was to be expected, but before a year had elapsed the Natchez again began their depredations on the Mississippi and on the Wabash. The Natchez took refuge with the Cherokees, and the Chickasaws were only deterred from abandonment of their settlement by its extreme fertility.

Bienville, since 1740, had asked for his discharge and in March, 1742, he again broached the subject. He knew that his continual efforts for the betterment of the colony had not always been followed by the success they deserved, but his fidelity and zeal could not be questioned. This was the tenor of his petition through its long wording, and though he knew that his time in Louisiana had drawn to its close, he zealously guarded its interests till the day of his release in 1743.

To take Bienville's dimensions as explorer, founder and statesman, would require an able pen, but none who has studied the history of Louisiana, can withhold the need of reverence and gratitude due this grand figure. His career began at the age of twelve, following an older brother through danger and hardship on land and sea, to a new world, part of which he helped to conquer and give to the old. From the day he set foot on this soil and with the eagle eye of genius foresaw the possibilities of the site on the Mississippi, he dreamed of founding a great city; he nursed that dream and fought for it with strength and mind until he made it a reality and a success. He gave his heart, his mind, his strength to foster the life of the city he created with foresight of its future success, but without illusions as to the gratitude which should have been his by right, without conviction that his work and sacrifices would ever overcome the cabalistic warfare waged against him which embittered his life, especially, without hope that the mother country would uphold him till final success.

From the day he left New Orleans in 1726 to seek rest and peace in Paris, rue Champfleury, to that other day when realizing its great mistake France returned him to Louisiana to unravel the tangled skein of weak administrations, Bienville's brave heart never faltered. Through penury, distress and war he steered his colony with ability. He sacrificed his youth to its founding, he gave his manhood to its establishment and development, and in his declining years came the dark hour when, at the foot of a tottering throne, he pleaded in vain for its life as a child of France.

As phantoms all those years of toil and persecution, of expeditions undertaken and battles won faded into nothingness, and the brave spirit which had never quailed went down before the annihilation of all his past.

His death in 1768 saved him from adding to this crushing blow that of the bloody tragedy which inaugurated the Spanish domination, and in which the Lemoyne blood again flowed for France.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.

April 23, 1918.



SIDELIGHTS ON LOUISIANA HISTORY.

To appreciate the changes and progress which two centuries have brought to Louisiana we must know its past history; not the history of its battles and conquests, but the chronicles of its administrations, its moral and its strenuous life, the crimes committed and the penalties inflicted, the influences brought to bear upon religion, education and manners, all of which stamp the national character.

The documents and excerpts which follow, derived from papers and MSS. in care of the Louisiana Historical Society, give the sidelights which will put in relief the inner life of the colony in Bienville's time.

Church and Education in New Orleans.

Bienville's first care in founding New Orleans was to choose a site for the church, accompanied by the Jesuit, Ignatius de Beaubois, he selected a central tract in the plan of the city and Bienville with his sword marked out the square where the Saint Louis cathedral now stands. Religious services were first held in the Company of the Indies' store and under a tent, but, under a father Matthias, there was a church built of wood, dedicated to Saint Ignatius. It was blown down by the hurricane of 1723 and this church was replaced in 1724 or 1725 by a brick church called the Parish Church of Saint Louis, which outlived the French domination and was a very active unit of the Spanish domination during 26 years. Father Matthias was its first rector.

When Crozat's charter passed to the Company of the Indies it had to comply with an ordinance which compelled them to erect a church on any settlement made by the company, and to bear the expense thereof.

In May, 1722, the company with the approval of the Bishop of Quebec, divided Louisiana into three ecclesiastical provinces under the Carmelites, the Capuchins and the Jesuits. The recall of the Carmelites left the whole region to the Capuchins and to the Jesuits. There was a Recollet in New Orleans in 1720, and other priests, off and on, from that date appear to have exercised their ministry but they were not permanently established here. The Capuchins first appear in Louisiana records in 1720, though the King's brevet to them dates from 1717. Father Matthias was in New Orleans in

1720, but his signature also appears in "Old Biloxi" and in the Mobile registers.

There was but one religion followed in Louisiana, the Roman Catholic, and Bienville and his French successors upheld the church so that its history blends with the political history of Louisiana; it is said that much of the animosity against Bienville came from his partiality to the Jesuits.

There was much laxity in the observance of religious rites in Louisiana but after the priests were permanently established and that the Ursulines formed the minds and hearts of the wives and mothers of the colony religious influence spread. The child had scarcely opened its eyes upon the world than the priest gave the soul in its infant body its rank as an individual and a Christian; love was idealized and sanctified by a sacrement, and death, the dividing line between two worlds, again brought the priest to bless the lifeless clay which had held an immortal soul. Still these first colonists were not devout nor bigoted. Laws had to be enforced to compel them to abstain from work on Sundays, to close the cabarets and gaming houses, and even though the ordinance was limited to the hour of Mass on Sundays and feast days, many delinquents were found when the attorney-general made his rounds of inspection. They were cited and fined to the benefit of the hospital and a second offense brought a more severe penalty, but the fines were paid and the games and the parties went on.

Bienville believed that religious orders had a salutary influence and gave vitality and expansion to the colony. There were Capuchins stationed at the Balize, Tchoupitoulas, les Allemands, Nachitoches, and Mobile. The Jesuits had full sway over the Indian missions but had a house and a chapel in New Orleans, adjoining Bienville's house, which was then at the extreme end of the city, which extended only to what was then Bienville street.

The missionaries were to be supported by the Company of the Indies, but records of the seminary of Quebec show that little attention was paid to promises. The seminary was to receive 3,000 pounds or francs a year for the missions, and the missionaries were admonished to subsist thereon. Three thousand pounds seemed to be a goodly sum for priests among the savages, but until then the number had not been large on account of the difficulty of maintenance, the sum stipulated not being paid for several years, and when payment was made it was in notes or orders on the royal treasury, which had to be negotiated at half price to secure any money. On 3,000 pounds only 1,500 had been received.

Still, living was more expensive in Louisiana than in France and it was impossible for the missionaries to subsist. The document sets forth their poverty; things most necessary to life could not be made to grow; there was no bread nor wine as nourishment; no clothes nor cloth to cover them. Permission was sought by the seminary of Quebec to send produce for their support, by agents from Paris.

The minister, Count Pontchartrain could alone obviate these difficulties. The missionaries being among the savages could not be helped by specie, but had to live by exchanges of beads, knives, axes, vermilion, etc., for corn and meat. They had no traffic with the savages.

The King gave 1,500 francs for maintenance of the Curate at Fort Louis, but this sum was reduced to half on collection. One may imagine what subsistence could be had on 750 francs a year, and this might explain the commercial activities of the curate de la Vente. A priests was sent to Dauphine Island without increase of the allowance. The priest appointed as almoner of the troops was to receive 600 francs a year, but at the time the petition was written he had not received a cent, though he had labored faithfully during several years. The curate's gratifications could not supply the wants of the assistant priests, for no charity, however small, was made to the church for burials, marriages and christenings. The governor and priests deemed it best not to make any ecclesiastical demand for fear of the colonists being led away from their Christian duties, which they fulfilled with so much laxity and indifference. Count Pontchartrain was asked to pay the past debt and to enforce regular payments of the priests' allowance and to consider that, the inhabitants not being able to build a church or to furnish the requisites for holy service, all expense was borne by the missionaries. His Majesty's piety was relied on to remedy this evil, not only for the service of God, but for the honor and usefulness of the nation.

(*Written up from Correspondence generale, La. Hist. Scty.*)

The priests tried renting pews as a source of income, but the pew rents were not paid, though each pew was to be paid but 60 francs a year in 1726.

Bienville always took the initiative in trying to extend religious influence in the colony, but it happened that after bringing his efforts to a successful ending others reaped the glory of their achievement. He called for a convent for the young girls of New Orleans and sent Father de Beaubois to France to obtain fitting subjects to accomplish this mission. The contract with the Ursuline nuns was

signed in 1726, when Bienville was recalled to France and they arrived in 1727.

On Bienville's return he undertook to build a presbytery for the priests who were the spiritual directors of the colony. At the request of Father Matthias, he called a meeting at the Government House. over which he presided with Mr. Edme Gatien de Salmon, marine commissary and judge of the Superior Council. The meeting was called by the sound of the Church bells, it was well attended and it was decided that the presbytery was to be begun on short notice; but war broke out between the colony and its savage neighbors; dire distress and want followed and the building had to be put off till better days. In 1744 the matter was again taken up and it was decided, that with this end in view, a tax would be levied on every negro head and on real estate owned by the inhabitants and the presbytery was soon erected.

The priests of the seminary were called by the savages "Blancs Collets" (white collars) and the Jesuits "Robes Noires" (black robes).

All the missionaries were given free passage on the Company's boats, but the Jesuits were debarred from receiving any bequest or donation under any pretext whatsoever.

The Jesuits protested to the Company of the Indies claiming that it was not just that the Louisiana contingent should be on a different footing from those in France. To this the Company responded: "The company's interest exacts this clause for the establishment of the hospital."

The Jesuits at their own expense built two churches and two houses in villages of the Illinois and a chapel in New Orleans. They asked to be reimbursed by the Company, but no attention was paid to their demands.

In 1726 we find the Jesuits given in care a hospital in New Orleans, on condition that they would perform no ecclesiastical rite without the consent of the Capuchins. The Jesuit chapel (la chapelle du Père de Beaubois) was frequented by the intelligent element and patronized by the aristocracy, for even in those early days of New Orleans rank and caste were considered. It was called the chapel of honest folks ("la chapelle des honnêtes gens.") Father de Beaubois was devoted to Bienville and thereby incurred the enmity of the cabal opposing him.

The Jesuit bore the brunt of their jealousy and hatred, was traduced and persecuted. He was accused of intriguing among the

colonists for Bienville's return and the beauty of the Jesuits's house was reproached to him.

The new church erected at the end of Bienville's administration was blessed April 24th, 1727. When the procession entered the church, Attorney Fleurian noticed three arm chairs covered with blue cloth in the choir. They were intended for Mr. Perrier, Commander General, for Mr. de la Chaise, first Councillor of the Supreme Council, and for the priest officiating.

A few months after this ceremony the Ursulines arrived. The Company had accepted Father Beaubois' proposal to establish the Ursulines in New Orleans and in 1726 a contract signed by the Company and the Ursulines, giving over to these nuns the care of the hospital and the instruction of the youth of the colony; the last duty to be undertaken only if the school did not interfere with the care of the sick.

This contract was signed by: Raguet, (Abbe); J. Moren, Dartaguette Diron, Saintard, Deshayes, Fromaget, Langeane. •

From the annals of the Ursulines of New Orleans, the following details are taken:

These nuns embarked on the Gironde February 22nd, 1727, and after a perilous journey arrived at mouth of the Mississippi on the 23rd day of July of the same year.

At the Balize Commandant de Verges received them very cordially. On the 31st of July the Superioress, five sisters, Father Doutreleau and Brother Crucy embarked in a pirogue, the others followed in a shallop. The first party arrived early on the 6th of August, the other on the following day, which is the day usually given for the landing of the Ursulines.

Father Ignatius de Beaubois conducted the Ursulines to Bienville's house* which was assigned to them as a temporary residence.

"This house is said to have been situated at the Southeastern corner of the square bounded by Bienville, Chartres, Conti, and Royal Streets. It was a two story frame building, each floor having six apartments. The windows were numerous but instead of being glazed, each was furnished with a frame covered with some kind of light material, which, while admitting air, was almost as translucent as glass."

• Sr. Catherine de Bruscoly de St. Amand, (Soeur Superieure des Ursulines de France.)
Sr. Marie Tranchepin St. Augustin, (to be Superior of New Orleans Ursulines.)
Sr. Marie Anne Le Boulanger, Angelique.
This contract had been examined at a meeting of the directors, in presence of Mr. Fortia, de Landevisian, Aigran and Pereine de Moras.—Notes from Margry).

*From the Ursuline Annals, a description of Bienville's residence.

The Ursulines immediately began their missionary duties. In their school they received boarders, and day pupils, they also instructed the savages and the negresses, and in 1729 the female orphans spared from the Natchez massacre formed the nucleus of their orphanage.

Speaking of this orphanage a memorial to France in 1732 mentions that the orphans raised by the Ursulines are taught the care of silk worms and the fabrication of silk and "when they are married will teach their negresses". This orphanage received some help from the colonial authorities, but for long years the expense was borne by the Ursulines. It flourished under five different flags and was abandoned for want of space a few years ago when the nuns moved into their present Convent on State Street.

The length of time the Ursulines occupied Bienville's house has never been positively stated. The Company had made them a concession of a plantation, and tradition is that they removed there as soon as a building large enough for them was erected. Nun Street and Religious Street for many years recalled this temporary abode of theirs. The Convent which the Company was constructing for them progressed slowly. In 1730 Dame Catherine Le Chibelier, wife of Governor Perrier, laid the corner stone, but the building was not completed until 1734, and in the meanwhile Bienville had again been appointed Governor of Louisiana. He, as governor, the intendant Edme Gatien de Salmon and the most distinguished citizens attended the removal. This convent is said to have cost 100,000 pounds or francs. The company intended it should serve as Convent and hospital, but upon Father de Beaubois' representations a separate building was constructed for the hospital. The sick were removed to this building in August, 1734.

The third Ursuline abode was situated on Chartres Street; back of it was the river front, then called Quay, on one side rue de l'Arsenal which became rue des Ursulines, and the other side became Hospital Street, from the King's hospital.

In Margry's notes we find the Ursulines still in charge of the hospital in 1752 and their annals give 1770 as the date they gave up this care on account of "their small number and of the difficulty of obtaining reinforcements from France."

In 1765 the annalist records that Sister d'Angelica Boulanger, alone remained from the pioneer nuns from France, "to tender a cordial welcome and minister to the needs of the poor, heart-broken exiles from Acadia.

There are many other interesting facts in the history of these devoted women, the first infirmarians and educators of Louisiana, but this data is admissable only insomuch as it touches Bienville. The harboring of the expatriated Acadians was one of the last-heart stirring events to precede his death.

Bienville had been no less anxious to obtain educational advantages for the young men of the colony. After his return to the colony, in 1742, we find a joint memorial signed Bienville and Salmon asking for the establishment of a College under the supervision of the Jesuits. Bienville thought that wherever the Jesuits had been established the uplift of the population had followed.

Salmon, the very next day, wrote to the minister asking for two Christian Brothers instead of the Jesuits, setting forth the pecuniary advantage it would be to the Crown.

Again Bienville left the colony before obtaining results.

Memorial of Messrs. Bienville and Salmon to Establish a College in New Orleans, 1742.

"The inhabitants have since some time represented the necessity of establishing a college for the education of their children, and they, on their side, realizing the advantage of such an establishment have proposed to the Jesuits to provide it. These religions are deterred by the scarcity of subjects and lodgings. It is, however, essential that it should be seen to on account of the classical studies, of geometry, pilotage, etc. The children besides will learn religion which is the base of morals. It is but too apparent how useless the young men raised in luxury and idleness, prove to be. It is also to be feared that most of these young men, disgusted of this country, if educated abroad, may come back to it only to collect the heritage left by their parents.

Another incentive besides these motives is that several persons of distinction in Vera Cruz would wish to send their children to Louisiana to learn the French language and to acquire polished manners. Some of them wrote to the Jesuits to this effect,. and, without awaiting their answer, sent two children. They would send them several others if they had lodgings and teachers to provide.

The Jesuits were determined not to receive any, but considered that it might bring on commerce between Vera Cruz and New Orleans, which trade would greatly contribute to the prosperity of the colony.

These Fathers have written to their Superiors to await Your Highness' orders on this question."

Mr. Salmon proposed privately to send to the colony two Christian Brothers for the instruction of the children, and he declares that "Malo, one of them here since several years, would find some who would not ask better than to accept the offer if they were allowed 300 pounds or francs salary a piece." This brother had written to the community of the State, and promised to share with those who might be sent the little wealth he had in this colony which may have amounted to 3,000 pounds or francs.

Mr. Salmon adds that "the establishment is all the more necessary from there being none but soldiers who know nothing and cannot give the first principles to children. These teachers will occasion an expense of only 600 pounds a year, and will be housed without cost to the King on land conceded near the church to a merchant who "binds himself to erect the required building." This was in June 16, 1742.

Hospital.

Jean Louis' Will—Bequest which was the nucleus of the present Charity Hospital. (1735.)

"Holographic will written by my own hand:

"Nothing being more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than its hour, stricken by a dangerous bodily malady but sane of mind, I wish to settle my affairs, to explain how I intend my last will to be carried out by my testamentary executor who will be named hereafter. Without any one being able to contravene, being of age, having neither father nor mother, one having died in my childhood and my mother thirteen years ago, what I own I earned irreproachably in this country.

As to what may come to me from France of any nature whatsoever, I set in order and willed where I should before leaving.

I recommend my soul to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to the Holy Virgin, to my Guardian Angel and to all the Saints of Paradise, particularly to my Holy Patrons; praying that when my soul passes from this world into the other it may be received among the blessed. Amen.

I give my soul to God, my body to the earth, asking my executor that my interment be simple and to have a high mass with sermon before it. Low masses are to be offered during one year, every first Monday of the month, a funeral service to take place for me in the parish church and fifty low masses.

Idem.—I ask those whom I may have offended in any way whatsoever to forgive me as I forgive.

Idem.—I will that my notes and debts, if any be found, be acquitted and paid preferably to all other things.

Idem.—I give to the parish church for an ornament or embellishment which my executor may choose, such as a large crucifix or anything else, at his will 200 pounds which will be used by him with this end in view according to the most pressing needs.

Idem.—I give to the poor of the city who are ashamed to beg 200 pounds and 100 pounds to procure clothes for the most needy orphans according to my executors will.

My debts being paid and the above bequests distributed, with the remainder and my small lot of ground I will a pension to serve perpetually for the founding of a hospital for the sick of the city of New Orleans, (without power to change its destination) and to be able to secure the necessary things to assist the sick.

I will and intend that the said pension be made by my testamentary executor, to whom I leave the inspection and direction of said hospital during his life, and in case of his death or removal to the person he will choose and name to execute my will.

This present will written by my hand, in full possession of my faculties and judgment, revoking all previous wills and codicils I may have made which same are null and void, willing and intending that this present be executed according to its form and tenor, and this rather increased than diminished, trusting in the matter to the good will of my testamentary executor to accomplish all herein contained.

I name Mr. Raguet, Councillor in the Superior Council of this province and request him to take this in charge as if it belonged to him, without being obliged to render any account whatever, and without any official investigating it, trusting entirely in his honesty and faithfulness.

New Orleans, this sixteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five. (1735). Signed: JEAN LOUIS."

Filing Jean Louis' Will, 1736.

"January 21, 1736.

"In the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six, on the twenty-first day of January, at one of the clock in the afternoon, we, Edme Gatien de Salmon, commissary of the marine, intendant commissary and supreme judge of the Superior Council of the province of Louisiana, have opened in presence of the attorney-general of the King, of Messrs. Bizoton and Raguet the holograph will of

Jean Louis, inhabitant of Louisiana, who died in New Orleans this day and hour of the afternoon, beginning by the words: In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen. Nothing being more certain than death, and ending with these words: "and to execute and accomplish all herein contained I name Mr. Raguet, Councillor in the Supreme Council of this province and request him to take it in charge as if it belonged to him, without being obliged to render any account whatever, without any official personage investigating it, trusting to his honesty and faithfulness. New Orleans this sixteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five. Signed: Jean Louis." And after having given cognizance of it to Mr. Raguet, and having delivered it to him, who voluntarily accepted the charge and promised to have it executed with all possible exactitude, therefore we have drawn up this present verbal process by our clerk of court, Sorel, which act having been read to the said Mr. Raguet, above named, signed we present, in New Orleans the aforesaid day, the said will, and the gentlemen here named have signed with us the present in New Orleans this day, that the said will was made by Jean Louis, and was registered at the registry to serve whom it may concern, the other delivered this day.

Signed: Salmon Fleurian
Bizoton Raguet"

Jean Louis in 1732 appears in the list of inhabitants on Orleans Street. He had been a sailor, but later in life went into commerce; he "made and sold boats;" in the census of 1732 he is styled "patron de bateaux."

On the Foundation of a Hospital in New Orleans From a Memorial by Bienville.

"May 20, 1737.

"Jean Louis, a sailor in the employ of the Company of the Indies, who had a small commerce died last year, (1736), being a bachelor, without children, he leaves by holographic will all his estate, which, all debts paid, will bring 10,000 piastres cash."

In accord with the curate and the testamentary executor of Jean Louis, Messrs. Bienville and Salmon purchased Mrs. Kolly's house, situated on a large tract *at the extremity* of the city and formerly occupied by the nuns, then they bought beds, clothing and utensils necessary to a hospital. After these expenses there remained 5,000 piastres which added to aid from the inhabitants was employed in building a large brick hall to shelter the sick. The house on the grounds could not have lasted much longer. At its opening there

were five patients admitted. Messrs Bienville and Salmon continue: "By this means there will be no beggars; they will all be interned and kept at work according to their abilities. This will contribute to lessen their number for most of them will prefer work to loss of freedom.

"This beginning of the institution will encourage the inhabitants to join and furnish the material and days of labor needed to finish the solid buildings which will be of such urgent need when the old house no longer exists. At the same time it will relieve the King's hospital which was so often compelled to receive the poor inhabitants, who, without their aid would have perished of want."

The "historical epitome of New Orleans and of the State of Lousiana locates this first hospital for the indigent sick of New Orleans on the west side of Rampart street between Toulouse and St. Peter. It was destroyed by the hurricane which devastated New Orleans in 1779 and five years later Don Andres Almonester y Roxas erected at his own expense the "New Charity Hospital of San Carlos." It cost 114,000 piastres and he endowed it with a revenue of 1,500 piastre per annum.

In Bienville's day, besides the King's hopsital for soldiers, there was also a smallpox hospital, for in court records we find a mention of a fine imposed "available to smallpox hospital."

The King's hospital for soldiers in 1728, was on "rue du Quay (river front) now Decatur Street, between Rue de l'Arsenal (now Ursulines), and Rue St. Philippe.

In 1734, when the Ursulines moved to the Convent, which was on the site where stands the former archbishopric, the Company of the Indies placed the hospital in its rear on what is now Decatur Street, though they had intended to combine convent and hospital in the same building. In 1723 the hospital was also on Rue du Quay, but differently situated and Dr. Prat is reported in charge of it with "three infirmarians, a gardener, a washerwoman, two negroes and two negresses."

Census.

Census of New Orleans and its environs in 1721, followed by summary of a memorial upon the land, its production medicinal herbs, grants, etc., made by the Inspector General of the troops in the province of Louisiana and in New Orleans. November 24, 1721:

"Bienville, Commander General; Mr. de Pailhoux, Major General; Mr. Banes, Major; de Gauvrit, Captain; de Pauger, Engineer; Rossard, Recorder; Berard, Surgeon Major; Sarazin, Watchman of the Store.

Officers: Decoublans, Delatour, Basset, Coustillas, Dupuy."

In 1721, Population of New Orleans, Bayou St. John, ancient villages of the Tchoupitoulas, Colapissas, Gentilly, Cannes Bruslees, Little Desert, English Lookout, and Chaouachas, numbered:

293 Men, 140 women, 96 children, 155 French servants (white), 514 negro slaves, 51 Indian slaves,

Animals: 231 Horned cattle, 28 horses.

(*Products*). The lands of New Orleans and adjoining places spoken of in the above census are very good. They produce rice, wheat, corn, all kinds of vegetables and tobacco in abundance. Vines, wheat, rye, barley would yield well if the ground were more open or less wooded, which may be attended to later on.

"Mr. Dubuisson, concessionary, inhabitant of the Bayou Goulas, 30 miles above New Orleans has tried the cultivation of wheat and succeeded very well, it ripened to perfection. He had a fine harvest in proportion to what he sowed. He also sowed indigo seeds which gave fine results, and they reckon on three, or at least two, very good cuttings in the year.

"There is no quarry in the environs of New Orleans. There are large quantities of medicinal plants for all sorts maladies, but very few Frenchmen have any knowledge of them. The savages who know their properties use them with success, but jealously guard the secret from the French.

"Silk may be made, silk worms thrive well but it is difficult to raise them in great numbers because the mulberry trees, though common, are scattered through thick woods and cane brakes, so that any colonists undertaking this culture would have to employ a great many negro slaves to bring in the mulberry leaves, and they could be given no other work. If in the spring the young mulberry trees are transplanted near the plantations raising silk worms, less slaves would be required. Mr. Dubuisson made a trial which gave, a fine and good quality of silk of which he sent a sample to the Company of the Indies and one to Paris associates.

"Good wood is found here, such as cypress, white oak, green oak, cotton-wood, elm, bay-trees, of various kinds, copahu, vinegar-trees, and others.

"Cypress is used for all sorts of constructions, it is the best wood, makes fine planks and ship boards. They maintain that it does not rot in the ground and is never worm-eaten in water.

"They use the bark and root of the cotton-wood for fresh and old wounds, boiling it and then spraying the wound or sore with the liquid.

"They make fine and good ship boards and planks from the white oak.

"The bark and root of the elder tree is used to allay swelling. It is boiled, put in brandy with soap, made into a poultice and applied to the swollen part.

"Copahu produces a gum good for all sorts of fresh wounds, which it heals in twenty-four hours and brings the flesh together.

"The Mississippi sometimes inundates New Orleans and its environs. We have not had an inundation since three years; the water then rose three or four inches above the banks of the river. The old inhabitants and savages say that they have never seen the water higher than at this time. It is conceded that it would be easy to guard against this overflow by making a levee. The water begins to rise in March and continues until June at which time it gradually falls.

This memorial was made by Diron D'Artaguette, inspector general, of the troops of Louisiana and of those in New Orleans, November 24, 1721. Signed: DIRON, and countersigned:

BIENVILLE,

Le Blond de la Tour,
Duvergier,
de Cormes.

The following list of the most important grants was also given by Diron at a later date:

"*Louisiana Grants*:

"Concession of M. Leblanc, secretary of war, at the Yazoos—climate and land not favorable. Mr. Le Blond de la Tour, engineer in chief of Louisiana, is administrator of this grant—on it, all counted, there are about 140 persons.

"Concession of Madame de Mezieres and Desmarches, half at the Ouachitas and half on the Mississippi, from the 'Ecores blanches' of Pointe Coupee to Iberville Island which is two leagues below. The lower part of these tracts is quite good; Mr. Marie is the director—120 inhabitants in all.

"Concession of Count D'Artagnan, is at Cannes Bruslees, six leagues below New Orleans. There are broad fields cleared which should be sowed. The land is good but in the great overflows it is inundated to the height of 8 or 10 inches—levees to be built to remedy this; land being subject to inundations a grant of four leagues was added to it at the Cross of the Tonicas, where there were fine high

prairies. Messrs. D'Artagnan and de Bénac are directors of this grant which comprises 70 whites and 20 negroes.

"Concession of Mr. Dyron, inspector of Louisiana troops, is situated at Baton Rouge, 40 leagues above New Orleans,—this tract is fine and good with many prairies. 30 Whites, 20 negroes and 2 Indian slaves.

"Concession of Mr. Coetlogon at the Natchez, works wonders. Mr. Dumanoir, director, has asked for another grant below English Lookout. On this grant about 90 whites, 30 negroes and some Indian slaves.

"Concession of Mr. Kolly at the Chapitoulas, three leagues above New Orleans, excellent land which yielded 600 quarters of rice against 14 quarters sowed, besides quantities of vegetables and corn. Mr. Ceard has asked for another tract of four leagues, which was granted from the "Ecores blanches" of Pointe Coupee, ascending the river. About 100 whites, 46 negroes and two Indian slaves.

"Concession of Mr. Law divided between the Arkansas and English Lookout. Directed by the Company of the Indies.

"Concession of Mr. Danceny, will be established with difficulty, owing to Mr. Lepinay, (director), having lost most of his effects in the fire at the store, and he expects to return to France by the first ship.

"Concession of Mr. Chaumont situated at Capinaus on the Chapitoulas river—good land—directed by Mr. Lagarde—about 25 whites, 30 negroes.

"Concession of Mr. Dubuisson, supposed to belong to Mrs. Paris, established at the Bayou Goulas, twenty-eight leagues above New Orleans—land good—4 whites, 15 or 20 negroes. Mr. Dubuisson, director, trying the culture of silk.

"Concession of Mr. Cantillon, Irishman, on the Ouachita river, otherwise called Black river which empties into Red River—10 whites and 20 negroes. Mr. Cantillon manages it himself.

"Besides these grants there are other smaller plantations in different parts of the colony.

"*Les Allemands.*" The German families numbering about 330 persons of both sexes and different ages—12 leagues above New Orleans on the left side, ascending the river, settled on very good land where there were formerly Indian fields easy to cultivate—divided into three villages—tract extensive in area and never inundated—As the people are very laborious there is reason to hope that their harvest will be abundant this year, and that, in the course of time, they will make good establishments in the colony.

"*Illinois.* In March 1722 there was no certain news in the lower end of the colony from Illinois save a letter dated November, 1721, mentioning that "Mr. Renaud, who has a grant, is working a lead mine which yields 90 per cent." If this is true it will be confirmed."

(Here the memorial touches again on the products of Louisiana, extends itself on indigo, tobacco, etc., and then takes up the important question of negroes.)

"*Negroes.* It is absolutely necessary to send a great many negroes here (Louisiana). They are better adapted to the cultivation of the ground and just as the islands of America were established by negro slaves, Louisiana will never be well established until a sufficient number of them is sent. They are easily and rapidly acclimated, and there is no subjection but to clothe them in winter; the expense is moderate.

"The concessionists having settled on their tracts only in January, 1722, the establishment of the colony must date only from that time. The new inhabitants and the few who remain of the former ones work very hard raising their provisions and there is reason to hope, that barring accidents, the crops will be abundant this year, after which they will, according to the quality of their land, apply themselves to the cultivation of indigo and tobacco and to the fabrication of silk, bray and other things which will bring returns to France; but to attain this result negroes must be furnished, otherwise their establishments cannot be successfully carried on."

"Then follow projects of commerce with the Spaniards by sea and land, most advantageous at the post of the Nachitoches and on the Arkansas and Missouri rivers, etc.

"*Horses and Cattle.* As cattle and horses are absolutely necessary to the colony we should neglect no means of procuring them. They may be obtained from the Spaniards by land or by sea from Tampico; it is probable that they may be also brought from Bayahonda, a port of Cuba, west of Havana. Horses and horned cattle are indispensable for transports and carriages and for the labor of the colony. It is also to be desired that we have a quantity of beef sufficient to establish butcheries in the more thickly populated places, where living is always rough and difficult.

"The main object is to form establishments on the Mississippi, and the greatest misfortune of the colony comes from not having made all the ships bringing colonists to Louisiana come by the river, which was as navigable in the first days of the establishment as it is today, but they did not know it or did not want to profit of it, for all the concessionists and their effects were landed on the sands of the coast, and there was not enough small craft to bring them up the

river, which the ships of France could easily have done; half of the workmen and those engaged for the grants perished from their long sojourn on an arid coast from hunger and destitution during sickness; almost all their effects were used up or sold, whilst if they had sent them up the river on ships these poor people would be living and aiding in the perfecting of the plantations which would now be in condition to repay past expenses made to establish the colony.

"It is certain that the navigation of the Mississippi presents no difficulty and that all ships not drawing more than twelve and a half feet of water can easily go through it. Ordinarily there is a depth of 13 feet of water and sometimes more at the entrance of this river. The bottom is of soft mud which has been attested by different captains who have passed through several times and by Father Charlevoix, who passed in June, 1722.

"Travelers assure that the lands are excellent from and including English Turn, to the farthest that the French have been able to go ascending the river, except at the Yazoos. The same is said of the lands below English Turn. The general direction of the colony was first at Dauphine Island, where there is a good harbor, but since the entrance has been obstructed by shifting sands they moved to Old Biloxy and later to New Biloxy which is now called Fort Saint Louis. The ships going to the last named place were obliged to anchor at Ship Island four leagues from land. This road is exposed to violent north winds and the ships to insults from enemies, there being no fortifications on the island to defend the harbor.

"As it is absolutely necessary that the general direction should be on the Mississippi, the order was given to remove it to New Orleans. According to many who are familiar with the colony it would be better to establish it at English Lookout on the same river, because the ships are obliged to unload at New Orleans and they require more time to go up the river to New Orleans though there are but seven leagues difference between the two places. From English Lookout it would take put 24 hours to reach the mouth of the river."

In 1722 Diron made a voyage to Nachitoches, where St. Denis was commander, and he mentions "quantities of trees called plaquemines (persimmon tree) bearing a fruit, plaquemine, which resembles the plum of France, but which is incomparably better. The savages make flat bread of it which is astringent and even used as a remedy.

"You may also find quantities of walnuts as good as those of France but there is much difficulty in getting almonds, of which the savages make sagamie, which is very good. Mississippi lands produce the same trees and fruits. Peach and prune trees are very common

and the fruits as good as those of France. They cling to the stone and are of one kind only. The savages of this nation (Nachitoches) make a fine red dye which never loses its color from the root of a medicinal plant unknown to the French. They dye small baskets and the mats on which they sleep with it; they make black dye from another root. This nation has about 100 men bearing arms; they love the French, whom they support during the greater part of the year by hunting and fishing.

"On the road from Nachitoches to the Spanish post, which is seven leagues distant, there are fine trees, walnuts, pine trees, and at intervals, beautiful prairies where wild vines bear grapes as good as those of France. Until now they only make vinegar of them, but Mr. St. Denis and other private individuals intend to make wine as good as French wine. This vine bears a year after planting; in the winter old vines were burned to the ground and the same year new shoots came up and bore grapes."

(Diron at St. Jean Baptiste and Nachitoches, May, 1722.)"

Certificate of Freedom.

"October 10, 1741.

"I certify that the negress named Genevieve is not a slave, and that she may marry when the Reverend Capuchin Fathers approve.

BIENVILLE."

"I certify the same.

SALMON."

"Filed as minute in registry of the Superior Council, this seventeenth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-two.

"HENRY, Recorder.

"Fleurian."

Bill In Name of Chevalier d'Aubigny.

December, 1742.

"A dozen embroidered jackets and accessories .....1530½ francs
Gold and silver trimmings, colors were yellow, silver white, gold, pink, blue and cherry.
from Bordeaux.
Silk goods and jackets sold.....6957 francs
Another shipment.....3713¾ francs

Red Shoes, "Savage King."

Commission given by George II, King of Great Britain, to Mottoi Mecco, warrior of the Choctaw nation:

"Whereas, you have shown your friendship and zeal for the ser-

vice of our subjects and have come down in person, on behalf of the Choctaw King, Red Shoes, and the whole nation, to propose friendship and commerce with our subjects, and also claim to be distinguished by having our commission and authority, we therefore, reposing especial trust and confidence in your courage, prudence and integrity do hereby commission and appoint you, the said Mottoi Mecco, to be chief war captain under the said Red Shoes, King, and all the Choctaw nation is hereby required to pay due obedience to their chief captain.

Given under the great seal of our province.

Witness, William Bull, Esq., president and commander in chief in and over our said province of South Carolina, this thirteenth day of June, Anno Domini, 1738, and in the twelfth year of our reign."

(The ties of the seal were on it, but the seal itself missing.)

Translation—Notes from Margry.

Contract with Surgeon in 1724. Copy of Contract with Sieur Dominique Douat de Sanson, Surgeon.

"I, the undersigned, Dominique Douat de Sanson, native of Bagneres (Bigorre), surgeon and apothecary by profession, acknowledge having engaged myself this day in the best possible form and manner, in presence of Mr. Sorlier, consul of France in the Canary Islands, to Mr. Réné Louis de Verteuil, general administrator of the concession named Le Buisson, former village of the Bayougoulas, in Louisiana, to serve in the said concession during the term and time of three years, as surgeon and apothecary, to the best of my ability and with all possible affection; on condition that the said Sieur de Verteuil, pay me as wages and appointments, the sum 600 pounds per year, and that besides I shall be lodged and that my clothes be laundered at the expense of the grant. It is also agreed with the Sieur de Verteuil that my salary is to be increased in proportion to the increase of negroes beyond seventy-five, the present number, and of those in the concession on the arrival of the first slave ship in New Orleans, which appointments will go into effect the day I set foot on the soil of Louisiana.

In testimony thereof I have signed these presents, in presence of the undersigned witnesses, which I promise to execute under penalty of damages and interest.

Done (double) at Ste. Croix of Teneriffe, the twenty-fifth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four.

Signed: D. Douat de Sanson.

Signed: E. SORLIER,
Consul of France in the Canary Islands.
De GALIBER, Chancellor.

Signed: de Verteuil, New Orleans.
Conform to original in my hands.

Consultation and Diagnosis of Physicians Over Swiss Soldier in 1727.

"We, the undersigned surgeons major of the hospital of the city of New Orleans certify that we examined Mr. Gaulas, aforesaid lieutenant of the Swiss company, and we declare a fracture of the collar bone, so badly reduced, and the callus so solidified that it is impossible to remedy it without danger from the violence necessary to break the callus, the patient having arrived too late in this city to be methodically dressed, so that he will be deprived of free movement of his arm. In testimony of which we have signed this present for whom it may concern, and for his use, if needed.

"Done in New Orleans this twenty-second day of September, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven."

POUYADON de LATOUR.

Signed: Alexandre.

Gaulas was a property holder on Bourbon street in 1725.

Petition of Sieur Prat, of the King's Hospital, to Mr. Salmon, Intendant Commissary in Louisiana

Summary: Observations on remedies sent from France and their excessively high price, for which he cannot account, asks aid to keep up a garden of medicinal plants which will do away with the importation of many remedies now drawn from France, and afford many which could not bear transportation without alteration of their qualities. Advantages held forth from anticipated success of fructification of seeds brought in by last ship. The Ursulines nuns are expecting a nun who is a pharmacist. Asks for building as a lodging for the sick, according to promise made, convenient to them and which would afford him the facility of cultivating the proposed garden. On the growing importance of the New Orleans hospital; Prat petitions minister for salary of 2,000 pounds, begs him to consider that lodging was always furnished to the physician in this colony, that

he was honored with a place as councillor and thereby enjoyed 400 pounds surplus salary.

This demand seems all the more just from the fact that the colonists being accustomed to free services from the physician he has no resources but those which the country may afford him."

"In April, 1742, in a letter to the Minister in France, Prat answers different questions concerning the memorial of Sieur Alexandre, who 17 or 18 years previously had informed the Academy of the researches made by him relative to the wax tree in Louisiana. Mr. Prat has likewise written a memorial on the subject, (1742), and forwards his own with that of Sieur Alexandre. He intends to make experiments with this production which will enable him to answer more accurately their inquiries.

Plantations of this shrub are likely to become of great commercial advantages to the colony. Cotton will not be less lucrative if some facility is afforded to extract the seed. Here follow answers to information sought concerning Dr. Alexandre's memorial. Insurmountable difficulties suscitated by the directors of the Company of the Indies then at the head of the colony, turned him away from this culture at the time; the said Doctor Prat had informed the Academy of his observations shortly after his arrival in Louisiana. He sends a report on dried plants, and branches of two different kinds of wax trees with leaves and flowers, and a small package of seeds."

Prat says that the savages call this tree "Anemiche, that it grows best in low, marshy ground, put that it has been known to thrive on high, dry land." He then goes into botanical details and cites Linnaeus in classing it. Dr. Alexandre had given still more details about this tree, of which he mentions three different varieties. He says that it grows in any soil but thrives best in low, damp, sandy ground. He has even found it rooted to drift wood on the river. He then writes of conditions under which this culture would become a source of revenue to the colony. This is evidently the Hoya and the Myrica, (Bayberry, Sweet Gale), of which many varieties are found as high up as Lake Erie and the coast of Canada.

Penalties Inflicted in Louisiana During the French Domination.

Ordinance Relating to Deserting Sailors:

An ordinance passed in Paris, May 22, 1719, sentenced the captain, master or patron who enticed away a sailor from another master's service to be fined 100 pounds, half of which was to be turned over

to the admiral and the other half to the former master, who could claim the sailor's services if he chose. As this fine did not prevent such enticements, by another ordinance it was increased and the guilty captain, master or patron was subject to a fine of 300 pounds on the same conditions and applications as the previous ordinance.

The sailor who deserted the vessel on which he had engaged was condemned the first time to the iron collar, and in case of relapse to the stocks and to the "cale" (ducking). (This punishment consisted in suspending a man to the yard arm of the main mast and dropping him into the water. This was often repeated several times.)

Hotel keepers and tavern keepers were forbidden to harbor sailors under certain penalties.

A marine ordinance obliged the captain, commanding officers, clerk, chaplain and surgeon to sleep on board ships and the officers were to enforce the same on sailors, soldiers and ship boys; even the commissary was subject to this law; an inspection being made every day in the officers' presence. During a campaign the captain and other commanding officers were obliged to send their shallops to land to serve as a conveyance for wood which was to be hewed and of which they were "to make the greatest possible provision." It was to be put on board and under no circumstances to be brought to land again.

At the same time another ordinance was passed regulating the distribution of rations. His Majesty through the marine treasurer paid for rations granted to general officers and other commanders for their persons and utensils; for subsistence of the officers, almoner, (or chaplain), clerk, surgeon major and marine guards who were fed together at their table; baker and butcher were part of the equipage as sailors, and were paid by His Majesty 16 pounds or francs a month, and had a right to 1½ rations which was delivered to them by the commissary.

It was prohibited to deliver the value of rations in money or produce; exception however, was made for the food of cattle and poultry destined to the table of the commanding officers, clerks, chaplain and surgeon.

"Rations or victuals for a foot soldier consisted of 24 ounces of baked bread, stale, between brown and white; one pint of wine, (Paris measure), and one pound of beef or mutton at the choice of the provision master."

"The ration of victuals furnished to a guardsmen, light-horseman, musketeers, of the guard; horsemen and light horsemen of ordnance companies, and grenadiers on horseback will consist of two loaves

of bread of 24 ounces each, baked and stale, between white and brown; two pints of wine of the country (Paris measure), or of two pots of cider or beer and 2½ pounds of beef, veal or mutton at the quartermaster's choice, etc."

Slave Ordinances.

Negroes were forbidden to sell any sort of provisions without the authorization of their masters, and without a mark or badge. Persons purchasing anything from a negro who had no permit were subject to a fine of 1500 pounds.

There was a law subjecting the purchasers to the pillory for this offense and to the King's galleys for a relapse.

Slaves were forbidden to carry any fire arms or even a heavy stick, under penalty of the whip and confiscation of the property to the benefit of the finder. Exception was made in favor of those sent to hunt for their masters. They were forbidden to assemble on the highways or in another negro's cabin, under penalty of corporal punishment of not less than a flogging and in case of often repeated relapses, with aggravating circumstances, the offense was punishable by death. Masters allowing assembling of slaves were condemned to a fine which was doubled on repeating the offense.

Slaves were forbidden to expose anything for sale in the market or to carry the same from house to house, any sort of provisions or vegetables, of wood to burn, any kind of seeds or other merchandise, clothes or provisions without permission of their masters, under penalty of fine to master of profit and of returning such goods sold to master. Buyers and receivers were likewise sentenced to a fine and to punishment for theft. The officers of Superior Council of Louisiana were requested to give their opinion on rations, quality and quantity of clothes to be furnished to slaves by their masters, and the masters were forbidden to give the slaves brandy to replace food and raiment. It was also prohibited for a master to shirk the duty of feeding and clothing his slaves by allowing them to work certain days of the week to provide for their own support in order to get these clothes and food.

Slaves not provided for by their masters were to inform the members of the Superior Council and have justice rendered them. The slaves who from infirmity, old age, or any other cause were unable to work were to be fed and supported by their masters, and if abandoned, the slaves were sent to the hospital and the master condemned to pay daily the price of their subsistence and upkeep and for payment of these dues the hospital acquired claim on plantations of master wherever situated. All property acquired by slaves through their industry or by presents given them, belonged to their masters,

and neither the slave's parents nor children had any right to the same. They could not inherit and could not make contracts without approval of their masters. The slave who struck his master or mistress or their children, occasioning contusion was punishable by death. Any assault upon a free person by a slave was severely punished, sometimes by death, according to circumstances.

Thefts of horses, mares, mules, goats or cows carried a severe penalty and in some cases were punishable by death. Thefts of sheep, hogs, chickens, grain, forage, vegetables and provisions made the slave liable to be flogged by the public executioner and branded with a "fleur de lys." The slaves' masters in cases of theft were held for damages and if unable to pay the slave who stole was turned over to those he robbed. The fugitive slaves, who remained away one month from the day his master denounced him to justice had his ears cut off and was branded with a "fleur de lys," on one shoulder. In case of a relapse in like conditions he was hamstrung and branded on the other shoulder. The third relapse was punishable by death. The free negro harboring a fugitive slave paid a fine of 30 pounds or francs for each day the fugitive remained in his house, other free negroes aiding fugitive were sentenced to 10 pounds fine for each day and it often happened that the free negro being unable to pay the fine was again reduced to slavery or sold, and if the price obtained was more than the fine, the surplus went to the hospital. The King allowed any person in the province of Louisiana having fugitive slaves to search for them or have them hunted for in whatever way suited the masters. The slave sentenced to death on denunciation of his crime by his master (if not parcitipating in his crime) previously to his execution was estimated by two of the most prominent inhabitants, and the value turned over to the master.

It was prohibited in the province of Louisiana, to all colonists of whatsoever class or condition to inflict torture on their slaves, or to subject them to mutilation under penalty of confiscation of their slaves. They were, however allowed to have them chained and flogged with switches or ropes when they deserved it. Masters guilty of mutilation or murder of slaves were prosecuted by the Superior Council and punished for murder, according to the atrocity of the circumstances. The King decreed that women slaves and their children under age should not be sold separately if they belonged to the same master, and that the seizures and separate sales be declared null and void and those infringing this ordinance were deprived of their remaining slaves, that were adjudged to the purchaser without his paying any extra price. It was forbidden to seize slaves from 14 to

60 working on a plantation, for any price above that originally paid for them.

The same privileges and rights were granted to free negroes as enjoyed by those born free. The King wished that liberty gained by merit should carry the same results as the happiness given to those born free.

This decree was promulgated in France in 1715, and ratified at Versailles in March, 1724.

Signed: "LOUIS."

and opposite::

Flerian
Philippeaux

It was registered and published in New Orleans, September 10, 1724. Signed: "ROSSARD
"Clerk of Court."

Sentence and Punishment of Robert Villeneuve for Selling Dog and Cat Meat to the Hospital.

July 13, 1723.

Among other witnesses Saint Martin testifies that "the above named Villeneuve said that the dog belonged to Mr. de Pauger, that he would kill it if they gave him a gun, and that he not wanting to give him the gun killed the dog himself.

"James Peinjoin, workman under the engineers declares that Villeneuve served dishes of cooked dog to the sick at the hospital.

"Adauit, Swiss, declares that the man named Villeneuve sold dog meat to the hospital.

"*Judgment*: I demand in the name of the King that the said Villeneuve be put on the wooden horse and paraded around the city with a placard in front and back, bearing in large letters, "Eater of dogs and cats," and that a cat be hung around his neck if one can be found. FLEURIAN.

"To be done according to judgment, this tenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three.

"Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry.

"The council after having summarily heard all the witnesses against the aforesaid Robert Villeneuve, and having interrogated, examined and convicted him of having killed several dogs, roasted them and sold them to the patients of the hospital, who seek satisfaction from us for the offence committed by the said Villeneuve, do sentence him to be put on the wooden horse and to be paraded around the city

during two hours bearing front and back an inscription in large letters, "Master eater of dogs and cats," as corporal punishment.

"Given in the Superior Council this thirteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three."

Theft in 1720.

We find robbery carrying a sentence of flogging and three years prison, confiscation and 50 francs fine, however, the fine was deducted from the confiscated goods.

Murder.

In a case of wife murder the culprit "to be strangled."

Destruction of Animals.

In 1724 an ordinance was passed bearing on the importance of preventing the destruction of animals in a colony not solidly established and of finding at the same time means to multiply the breeds. Persons of any class or condition convicted of having shot or wounded animals belonging to others were sentenced to capital punishment. It was forbidden to kill cows, sheep, lambs and any female domestic animal. 300 francs fine the first time; for repetition of the offense, 600 francs and three months imprisonment in the garrison.

PHILIPPEAUX.

May 20, 1724.

In 1724 edict of the King countersigned by Philippeaux, fixes a fine of 500 pounds or francs for intercepting letters or packages. Officers, for this offense, were deprived of their commissions, the laborer was condemned to the iron collar and to a fine of 500 francs. The engineer Pauger, in a letter to French authorities, complained that his letters were tampered with and even abstracted.

Documents Relative to Lead Mines in Upper Louisiana.

In a memorial dated 1699, d'Iberville asked for a concession of all the lead mines between the 38° and 39° of lat. but as it was impossible to work these mines in a way to make them valuable, he asked for help: "The return of vessels which the king sends to the colony; permission to go to purchase negroes in Guinea with one of His Majesty's ships with the privilege of free freighting; to bring into the country conceded distant savage nations, that may be needed; exclusive trade with the Company of Canada, of beaver skins which they may need, and if they do not find enough in Cananda to prevent

the runs in the woods and even hunting while this Company does not need them; a detachment of 25 soldiers to hold in check the savage nations, the negroes and the hunters. A small tract of ground at the mouth of the Mississippi on the sea coast, to establish a post and his warehouses; moreover exemption from duty on lead taken from the mines on his concession."

Lesueur Spoken of in d'Iberville's Journal.

Mr. Lesueur went to the Sioux not to trade beaver skins, but to look into the quality of the mines.

These savages had traded with the French and were well provided with guns. Lesueur made them presents of powder, balls, and knives and invited them to come to the fort he was to build. These savages generally remained in the prairies between the Mississippi and the Missouri and lived on what they killed in their hunts. Their religion was different from that of the other savages.

La Harpe writes: "The Sioux in general claim to have three souls: After death the soul which has lived well goes to warm countries, the one of evil life to cold countries and the other guards the body. They are polygamous and very jealous of their wives for whom they sometimes fight duels. They are experts in the use of the bow and arrow and have been seen to kill ducks on the wing. They make their wigwams of hides sewed together, land carry them wherever they go. In each tent ordinarily there are two or three men with their families; they are great smokers. Some Sioux swallow all the tobacco smoke, keep it in their stomach for a time and then expulse it through the nose." Mr. Lesueur, a famous traveler and geologist, was commissioned by the French Government to discover and direct the work of the mines. He was taken prisoner by an English ship and threw his commission into the sea that the English might not thereby obtain knowledge of their situation, and when peace was declared he returned to Paris, secured another commission and embarked with d'Iberville, bringing with him 30 miners to begin the work without delay.

Mines! Gold and silver mines! This hope was the ignis fatuus which led the first colonists on and made them neglect the certain advantages of agriculture to indulge in this mad search. Bienville's sagacious mind embracing the situation of the colony and the opportunities at hand, prognosticating a brilliant future from the harbor facilities and the products of the soil, told the colonists and repeatedly wrote to France that prosperity would come to Louisiana only when wealth and energy would be turned to agriculture.

On this trip d'Iberville, besides Lesueur, brought on Mr. Boisbriant as Mayor of Biloxi, and Juchereau de St. Denis, who was first at the fort on the Mississippi and then at Nachitoches.

Lead Mines Worked in Illinois in 1719. Their Yield in 1742 Just Before Bienville Returned to France.

A reconnoitering party left Kaskaskia and crossed the Mississippi June 6th, 1719, and a few days later the Saline, to reach the La Mothe concession, where lead mines had been located.

Mr. de la Mothe had previously caused a hole four feet deep to be dug. There was "a bed of lead four inches from the surface of the reddish earth which has yellow, black, green and grey, stains; beneath is hard rock mixed with grains of lead, and six inches below this, is another bed of lead four inches thick.

Lead Mine of La Mothe 14 Miles From Kaskakia.

The small river Saline was so called from the proximity of its outlet to a wonderful salt spring in the Mississippi and near there were great numbers of wild turkeys. We quote from memorial:

"Snow in this region sometimes remained from six weeks to two months on the ground but here it melted as soon as it fell; the surrounding area in a circumference of three or four leagues produces but a few oaks which seem to grow with regret, there is no grass of any sort, no moss, not even stones. The French left here a lead tablet bearing the arms of France at the foot of a tree."

"The miners in the Illinois country worked individually and their only aim was to find a vein. When they find one they dig a large hole drawing from it all the mineral they can possibly get. If they meet with obstacles they abandon this site and begin their work elsewhere.

"When they have a sufficient provision of mineral to eke out a living for a year they cease working the vein and begin smelting. They hew down two or three large trees which they cut into lengths of five feet; they then make a basin in the ground placing three logs against each other over it. They cover these with shorter logs, and place one crosswise at each end until they have formed a sort of coffer dam which they fill with mineral and load it with as much wood as will hold on and around it. Then they set fire to the lower logs, and a part of the mineral melts.

"They are sometimes obliged to repeat this process three times to obtain the matter which falls into the basin, which they remelt and shape into flat bars each weighing 60 or 80 pounds to facilitate

transportation to Kaskakia. This transportation is effected by horses each bearing four or five of these bars."

Notwithstanding these unsatisfactory methods La Mothe's mine yielded twenty-five thousand bars in 1741 and two thousand two hundred and twenty-eight bars in 1742, though the mines worked but four or five months each year.

There were also copper mines in that part of Louisiana which is now Illinois, and tools, spades and pickaxes were made by a "white blacksmith who had gone among these savages."

Suicide in New Orleans in 1738.

A curious document is one giving details of proceedings against a certain Labarre who had committed suicide in 1738. A verdict was rendered against the inanimate body that had held life as too heavy a burden and it was sentenced to be abandoned without burial.

Ordinance Against Dogs in 1735.

As it has become necessary to prevent the disorder caused in New Orleans by the great number of stray dogs, most of which have no masters and attack the pedestrains on the streets and highways during the night as well as in the day, we hereby order that every first Monday of each month, persons named to this duty, go through all the streets and cross-ways from five to six o'clock in the morning and kill all stray or abandoned dogs.

The negroes and savages were forbidden to keep dogs under penalty of the iron collar.

Memorial of Bienville Asking for His Recall.

June 18, 1740.

Work, anxiety and worry of mind which I have had to bear since eight years that it has pleased Your Highness to place me at the head of this government, has weakened my health to such a point that I would not hesitate to ask for leave to return to France by the King's next vessel, if the interest of the colony and my own glory did not require that I set my hand to the treaty of peace which I have begun with the Chickasaws, the conclusion of which I believe it best not to press, in order to leave the Choctaws time to avenge on the Chickasaws and on their protectors the insult which they have received. This remnant of warfare can but weaken the Chickasaws and turn the English away from commerce with our nations.

This is the aim I have in view and which I hope to attain.

After having restored peace and tranquillity to the colony, I desire to be permitted to make a voyage to France to recover my broken health.

I petition Your Highness to kindly ask of the King this permission. I do not expect to be able to take advantage of it before return of the vessel of 1742, only in case, however, that France take no part in the war now raging in Europe.

On March 26, 1742, he wrote again to the Minister concerning his recall: "If success had always followed my attention to the affairs of this government and my zeal in the King's service, I would willingly have devoted the remainder of my life to him, but a sort of fatality pursues me since sometime and thwarts my best projects, makes me lose the fruit of my labor and probably a portion of the confidence Your Highness has placed in me. I have considered it best not to struggle against adverse fortune any longer. I hope that the officer who will be chosen to replace me may be happier. I shall give my entire attention during the rest of my stay here, to smoothing down the difficulties attending the place which I will remit to him, and I may flatter myself that I leave these affairs in better order than they ever were.

I am too truthful to assure that the peace with the Chickasaws is faithfully adhered to by the whole nation. We hear, by the prisoners that the Choctaws take from them, that a few villages, seduced by English traders, objected to the willingness of the others, to execute the conditions of the treaty, but their party is now too weak to cause any anxiety to the colony. Besides our allies have never before been so well disposed, and have never until this day so efficaciously carried out their plans of reducing that rebellious nation. There is no doubt that with a little attention we will soon gain the advantage over them."

At this time the pay roll for the officers in the service of France, stationed in New Orleans, read in francs thus:

October, 1740, Bienville, 12,000; his secretary, 1,200; Salmon, (Commissioner), 8,000; his clerk, 1,200; Chevalier de Louboey, (King's lieutenant), 2,400; Chevalier de Noyan, (lieutenant du roi), 1,200.

Salary and gratifications of officers commanding the different posts were as follows: Reformed officers, missing; military companies, missing; other employees, missing; officers of justice, missing; to the three most ancient Councillors, 400 francs; Attorney-General, 1,500 francs; Clerk of Court, 600 francs; Executor of Public Works, 300

francs; door-keeper of prison, 300 francs. Functionary of New Orleans Hospital? Those employed in fortifications?

In the last days of Bienville's administration we also find in New Orleans salaries as follows: d'Hauterive, (major of New Orleans), 1,200 francs; Bobe Desdozeau, (comptroller), 1,800; Le Breton, (chief clerk), 1,000; De Belleisle, (aid major), 1,080. Buildings of the artillery and other general expenses, 310,001 francs; expenses of the Church in 1741 amounting to 17,104; Hòspital in New Orleans, 18,270; fortifications and buildings, 49,600; general expenses? Total 319,411 francs.

Expenses of Louisiana in 1743 were 348,528,056 francs for drainage, slaves and value of money.—(Notes from Margry.)

A memorial of Salmon dated March 24, 1732, shows how much attention was given to the needs of New Orleans, according to means and material on hand in those early years.

Salmon emphasizes the necessity of bridges over the ditches, (afterwards called gutters), 116 bricks would be needed, he writes, but 60 would suffice, if constructed in a way to make the water from four streets run under the same bridge. Each inhabitant was expected to contribute to the construction and upkeep of these bridges, and later on would be compelled to make a revetment of brick over these ditches; otherwise they would fill up with refuse. The tax imposed for this work could afterwards be applied to the levees of the lower Mississippi. He continues: "These levees were begun by squads of negroes, but this labor was neglected as the inhabitants owned very few negroes and could not spare them for this work." He asks for a decree forcing the planters to furnish the slaves required.—(La. Hist. Scty. MSS.)

Still in 1731, there were two thousand negroes in Louisiana, according to Gayarre; the negroes were valued in the inventory of 1732, at the sum of 700 pounds or francs. That same year an ordinance of the King decreed that thereafter, "Since the piastres had the value of 5 pounds or francs and the half-piastres that of two pounds and 10 cents, the fourths would be worth 25 cents and the eighths 12½ cents, which were previously valued at 20 cents for ¼ and 10 cents for ⅛."

Bienville Sells Plantation Adjoining Old New Orleans

"Before the King's Councillors and notary, in Paris, were present Mr. Jean Baptiste Lemoyne de Bienville, commander General of Louisiana, Knight of the military order of St. Louis, now in Paris, residing in rue Champfleury in a house where hangs the sign "la

pomme du Pin," parish of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, who by these presents has sold, ceded, transferred and abandoned now and forever, and guaranteed against all trouble, gifts, dowries, debts, mortgages, eviction, substitution, alienation and other consequences generally to the Rev. Father Louis Davaugour, priest religious of the Company of Jesus, living in Paris at the College of Louis-le-Grand, St. James street this present, accepting purchases of the tract, as agent vested with general power of attorney of Rev. Father Baudoin, Provincial of the Company of Jesus of the province of France, passed before Mr. de Raucy who has the said act and as associate notaries in Paris, January 13, 1722, 20 arpents of land, or about, fronting on the Mississippi with the whole depth of 50 arpents or about, without, however, encroaching on the tract conceded or to be conceded by him; Mr. de Bienville to concurrence of 40 arpents of depth; the 20 arpents situated above New Orleans and at its limits, facing the river, running west in depth, ¼ northwest, adjoining the boundary of the city, granted in free tenure to Mr. de Bienville as a concession by the Commander General and Directors General of the Company of the Indies in New Orleans, according to act of March 27, 1719, registered in the registry of the Superior Council of the province of Louisiana by the recorder in chief of said council, in folio 15 of said register; consequent to ordinance of Messrs. the Commander General and of the Direcors of the province, April 21, 1728; the said writ confirmed by another attached to it by the Directors General of the Company of the Indies, Paris, February 6, 1720.

Moreover the said Sr. Lemoyne de Bienville sells as above mentioned to said purchaser, of said name, a concession of 52 feet in length, a dovecote of wood, built and constructed on part of said 20 arpents, a corps de logis, garden planted with fruit trees holding to said house as also said houses, corps de logis, dovecote, following and counting without anything excepted, or reserved by the vendor of the buildings and dependancies constructed on said 20 arpents above mentioned, sold as a whole at these presents.

Moreover, comprised in this sale a negro named Brise fer (Break iron), his wife and daughter, (slaves); three bulls, a mare, six sheep, a ram, four goats and a he-goat, the donkeys and asses that are in the buildings sold, owned by the vendor, with the exception of one ass reserved by Mr. de Bienville; all the pigeons in the dovecote, all comprised in the present sale, which animals the purchaser will take possession of and will have them furnished and delivered by said de Noyan, captain of infantry in New Orleans, or some other having

power from Mr. de Bienville; of which information must be given to whosoever delivers them.

For the said 20 arpents, buildings on these, and animals, to be disposed of by Rev. Father Nicolas de Beaubois, priest religious of the Company of Jesus, Superior of Louisiana at present in Paris, lodging at Louis-le-Grand College, here present and accepting in full ownership beginning from the first day of May proximo, whereas the present acquisition is made by the said Father Davaugour, of said name, for Rev. Father de Beaubois in his office of Superior of the missions of the Company of Jesus in Louisiana.

The 20 arpents of said land sold with its dependences being unencumbered, having been conceded in free tenure.

This present sale for the sum of twleve thousand pounds or francs, on which price said parties have agreed for which sum the said Father Davaugour has sold, created, constituted, and assigned now and forever, and guaranteed exemption from any trouble, etc., the said Sieur Lemoyne de Bienville, ratifying the sale from him and his heirs, Father Davaugour, held and obliged to pay said Sieur de Bienville in Paris or to bearer six hundred pounds or francs of annual and perpetual rent in four equal payments quarterly the first of which will fall due, in proportion, on the first day of next July, the rent beginning on the first day of May and will thus continue quarterly as long as the remainder will be due, to take and be taken on all movable and immovable property present and to come owned by the Company of Jesus in Louisiana and specially without obligation devolving on the other relative to the said 20 arpents of land and other property thereon, sale which the said Father Davaugour has attested, obligated, mortgaged, guaranteed to furnish and make valable, the said rent payable without any reduction, notwithstanding any unforeseen circumstance, the said Father Davaugour obligating himself to keep in such condition that a sale may be easily made every year, under penalty of the said rent and arrears to be disposed of by the said Sieur de Bienville in full ownership to begin on the said day, May first.

The said parties respectively transfer all rights of property, estate, names, reasons and exceptions rescinding and rescisory—willing, procuring the bearer, conferring power.

This done the said Sieur de Bienville furnished and delivered to Rev. Father Davaugour copy signed by him of the concession, obliging himself to furnish at will copy collated in good form of the letters of concession which will be remitted to him by the said Company of the Indies.

This positively agreed that the arrears of rent and the present principal, which will be hereafter mentioned shall be paid to Sieur de Bienville only in gold and silver specie without bills of any nature whatever, notwithstanding law decrees and declarations to the contrary, to the benefit of the said Father Davaugour, and which the said father renounces in favor of the said Sieur de Bienville by condition as part of the price of sale and without which it would not have been made.

The said sale redeemable forever by return and payment by said Father Davaugour in name of Sieur de Bienville, having cause, like sum of twelve thousand pounds or francs, in two equal payments of six thousand pounds or francs each with arrears then due and payable, the said rent executed in loyal costs made for the preservation of the rent, all in gold and silver specie as said and not otherwise, which reimbursements cannot be made by the said Father Davaugour, before having given notice in writing to said purchaser of domicile, one month before reduction of specie, of all expense, damage and interest; the said Father Davaugour has delivered to said purchaser power of attorney declared by Rev. Paul Bodin that the present acquisition is for and to the benefit of Rev. Father de Beaubois, accepting and purchasing as superior of mission of the Company of Jesus of Louisiana.

Therefore all agreed between said parties, and for execution of these presents the said Father Davaugour, whose domicile is the Royal College of Louis-le-Grand, and the said Sr. de Bienville in the study of Chevre, one of the undersigned notaries, to whom these present promising obligating, renewing, etc.

Done and passed in Paris, at the residence of the said Sr. de Bienville, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six, this eleventh day of April, afternoon parties have signed.

Thus signed:

"Lemoine Bienville," L. Davaugour, S. J. de Beaubois, S. J., Caron and Chevre, the two last notaries.

And on the 27th of June, 1730, the said Sr. Lemoine de Bienville, presently in Paris, rue Champfleury, a la Pomme du Pin, has acknowledged having received in gold and in circulating money, as stipulated in power of attorney of said Provincial of the Company of Jesus, in the province of France the sum of 12,000 pounds or francs, rent agreed upon by above contract and acquitted and discharged the said Rev. Father Davaugour, the said company and all others; acknowledges having been paid arrears of rent due up to date, ac-

cording to past receipts given and which will serve with the present discharge, etc.

Made and passed in Paris in this study on the said day.

Signed: Bienville, Davaugour. Caron, Chevre. These last two notaries with paraphe. (Sign Manual).

In the year 1816, July 17th, these presents were collated by Mr. Louis Antoine Gillet and his colleague, notaries of Paris, undersigned on the discharge in possession of Mr. Gillet of said Maitre Chevre, aforesaid notary."

This act of sale to the Jesuits by Bienville was followed by several others. In May, 1728, he sold them a tract adjoining their first purchase, 5x40 arpents, and from Caesar Le Breton des Chapelles, they bought another adjoining tract, 7x30 arpents. An act passed in 1743 gives the Jesuits plantation a frontage of 32 arpents by 50 deep.

A grant of land in 1734 by Bienville and Salmon to the Jesuits, extended to Bayou St. John and gave them 339 arpents by 200 fathoms (a fathom measured 2 yards). This concession was afterwards annulled, carrying with it the condition of digging a canal to connect the river and Bayou St. John which was not fulfilled.

This plantation which began by the sale of Bienville's house in 1726, contained in 1763, according to titles, papers, plan and verbal process, of an act passed in Paris, originally made by Broutin, engineer and surveyor of the colony, 32 arpents facing the river St. Louis by a depth of 50 arpents. Bienville in his last years saw this religious community which he had honored and protected dispossessed of its property and banished from Louisiana.

Bienville's house had first been sold to Dutisné, a payment of 1058 francs paid cash and the rest secured by mortgage; the land sold with it was 12x25 fathoms facing the Mississippi. Dutisné was obliged to reconvey the house to Bienville, deducting the sum paid at the sale.

The act of this reconveyance was passed January 30, 1725. It mentions that the house measured "32x21 feet, with seven rooms, above and below, partitions, doors and windows, locks and hinges, front gallery, shingle roof, kitchen of stakes, bark roof, etc." This house was for a time occupied by the Ursulines.

Gentilly, a Summer Suburb of New Orleans.

In 1726, Gentilly was also called Chantilly. It is classed as a "small village one-half league from New Orleans." Bayou St. John, one league from New Orleans, is cited as "embarcation of Lake Pont-

chartrain to reach Biloxy, Pascagoula river, Mobile and the Alibamons." The separate census of these two villages in that year read thus:

Chantilly: Masters, 23; servants, 6; negro slaves, 8; Indian slaves, 2; horned cattle, 21; horses, 6; cultivated tracts, 154.

Bayou St. Jean: Masters, 21; servants, 50; negro slaves, 41; Indian slaves, 5; horned cattle, 139; horses, 11; cultivated tracts, 290.

At Chantilly we find the Dreux Brothers. In after years they were called "les Messieurs de Gentilly." Did the village change its name for them or was it a corruption of Chantilly?

Another inhabitant was Sanson, the physician, who was very conspicuous for his differences with de Verteuil, which was aired in court and caused amusement to the audience whilst it embittered their quarrel.

At the Bayou, were already established the Rivards, famous for their wealth, and the Dugués. Both families still have numerous descendants in New Orleans. When Bienville came back to New Orleans to replace Perrier, the Bayou, notwithstanding, the ever present mosquito, was considered as a summer resort.

Bienville's Land Titles.

"We, commander general and general directors, at request of Mr. de Bienville, do grant him, in free tenure, concession of a tract situated above and at the boundary of New Orleans, facing the Mississippi river, running in depth to the west, a fourth northwest to the Mississippi in the bend below the Tchoupitoulas, which tract cannot be better bounded nor surveyed on account of the inundated country.

"We, acting on our right, have conceded the said tract to the said Sieur de Bienville, which he may from this present clear and turn where it is practicable, awaiting the formal concession to be sent from France.

Passed in New Orleans, March 27, 1719.

Signed: De BIENVILLE, HUBERT.

"The Company has confirmed and approved the act of which the above is a copy, and in consequence letters patent will be sent to Mr. de Bienville for the grant made him by said act reporting process verbal of the situation, surveying and limits of said tract.

"Passed in Paris at the hotel of the Company of the Indies, this sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and twenty."

(Correspondence generale de la Louisiane. Louisiana Historical Society documents.)

Bienville Secures German Families for His Lands.

"*To the members of the Council of the Province of Louisiana*:

"Mr. de Bienville has the honor to declare.

Gentlemen, That the Company has granted him a concession of almost three leagues above New Orleans, which he cannot render valuable for want of hands. He would wish, if the Council approves to put on these lands twelve to fifteen German families, who have lost all their stock of provisions by the storm and who are therefore obliged to take service in order to support their families. Mr. de Bienville would cede to each one a part of his concession, with victuals for a year, tools to turn the ground and to build; he would advance them cows, hogs and chickens.

As the said Mr. de Bienville cannot enter in any contract nor convention with the said families without the consent of the Council, he petitions them to grant his demand.

From New Orleans, this first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two.

[1722]

Signed: BIENVILLE."

"Seen and examined the bargain and conditions passed between Mr. de Bienville and the German families who would be obliged to begin a new establishment on account of the bad situation and the difficulties to meet on the tract they occupy at the Tensas and that besides they would be a burden on the Company for their subsistence and the fresh advances which would have to be made to them.

The Council allows the contract to be passed between Mr. de Bienville and the said families, said contract to be executed according to its form and tenure.

Passed in New Orleans this eleventh day of December, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two.

"LE BLOND DE LA TOUR,"
"Delorme."

Establishment of Superior Council in New Orleans, September 11, 1719, and First Councillors Named

The said Western Company, now Company of the Indies, (1719). To obtain a speedier execution of these presents, being informed of the ability, honesty, sufficiency and affection in our service of Sieur Lemoyne de Bienville, director of the said Company and Commander-General for us, and of Sieur Hubert, another director of said company, of Messrs. Larchebault and Monicault, de Villardeau

and Le Gac, also directors of said Company, of Sieur de Boisbriant, our first lieutenant, of Sieur de Chateaugué, second lieutenant, of Sieur Couturier, named and introduced to us by said company and this nomination and presentation here attached to counter seal of this present, etc., commit and decree to-wit, the said Sieur Bienville, to hold the first place in said Council, the said Hubert to be our first Councillor and as such to fill the office of president and take the second place; Messrs. Larchebault, Monicault, de Villardeau and Le Gac to be our Councillors, and the Sieur de Boisbriant and de Chateaugué to be councillors of the sword, which councillors shall take rank and place as they are above named, and the said Couturier to be register of said Council, to keep exact record of decrees rendered with all other acts of justice, and to deliver where need be to other parties. We will that Sieur Chartier de Baune, former Councillor, who sat as President in Paris, to whom we have promised the place of Attorney-General of the Superior Council, etc.

Smuggling.—On March 24, 1724 a document signed Bienville orders an inspection of the *Chameau*, at the instance of Attorney Fleurian, as the officers and the crew are suspected of smuggling, thereby wronging the Company of the Indies. Brusle and Fazende, both members of the Superior Council, were ordered to report for a visit of inspection to ascertain if there were really contraband goods on hand, to state what they were, to seize and hold until the Company could be informed and store them in the Company's warehouse to be sold at the Company's profit.

Bienville's Lands Near New Orleans.

On Bienville's land, from New Orleans to Chapitoulas, situated on the banks of the St. Louis river, to the right ascending, in 1726, we find: "Bienville's two nephews; Mr. Demony; German vassals; Gaspard Saxe and two children; Jacques Onnere, his wife and one child; André Seerement, his wife and two children; Jacques Igouette (homme de force); Le Roy, his wife and Bellair, (associates); Simon Comine and his wife; Daniel Gope, his wife and one child; Joseph Verret and his wife. Mr. Bonnaud, former store-keeper, has begun an establishment."

On this tract in 1726 there were: Masters, 30; servants, 13; negro slaves, 13; Indian slaves, 2; horned cattle, 47; horses, 2; cultivated tracts, 161.

Bienville since 1723 had divided his immense concessions into tracts which were held by tenants under a sort of feudal system.

In 1719 a decree from Paris forbade the Commander General, First Lieutenant and Intendant to own plantations for fear of their monopolizing the commerce thereof to the prejudice of the company. Bienville had received immense concessions in 1719 and 1720, and as the men at the head of the colony were debarred from any cultivation save vegetables, he had an immense vegetable garden above the city and one on the other side of the river. These were his "habitations." The tenants on the rest of his land paid him money and produce.

On the Chapitoulas tract there were: "Dulude, manager of the concession of Ste. Reyne and two children; Mr. Dubreuil, concessionaire, his wife and two children; Mr. Chauvin de Lery and three children; Mr. Chauvin de Beaulieu, his wife and three children; Mr. Chauvin de Lafreniere, his wife and three children; masters, 21; servants, 21; negro slaves, 385; Indian slaves, 11; horned cattle, 313; horses, 45; cultivated tracts, 800."

Decree of the King's Council of State, Forbidding the Deportation of Vagabonds, Persons Without Known Occupation, Smugglers and Criminals to Louisiana.

May 9th, 1720.

Extracts from Records of the Council of State:

"The King being informed that the Company of the Indies is in condition to begin the work of clearing and cultivating the lands of Louisiana by means of the negroes it furnishes to the colonists, that besides, a great many strangers and French families offer to establish themselves on the grants made by the Company to different individuals, that the grantees refuse to hold themselves responsible for vagabonds and criminals condemned to serve in the colonies, these loafers and persons of bad morals being less fit for labor than to corrupt the other colonists and even the aborigines of the country who are a mild, docile, industrious and laborious nation and friendly to the French, and lastly that the vagabonds and criminals may be more surely and usefully employed in the other colonies, considering the great number of French inhabitants, them which His Majesty wishes to provide for, and has heard the report of Sr. Law, the King's Councillor and Comptroller of Finances. His Majesty in Council has ordered and orders that no more vagabonds, unknown persons, cheats and criminals, be sent to Louisiana, and that orders which may have been given relative to this subject be changed and that the destination of vagabonds, etc., be directed to other colonies. His

Majesty forbids all judges to pronounce sentence carrying the deportation of criminals to Louisiana, but only to other French colonies. His Majesty orders that the judgments which may have been given before this day, ordering such vagabonds and criminals to be transported to Louisiana and which have not been executed shall be considered carried out by their transportation to the other colonies, in virtue of this present decree which shall be read and posted where it may concern, and for the execution of which all necessary letters will be dispatched.

Passed in the council of state, His Majesty being present, held in Paris this ninth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and twenty.

Signed: FLEURIAN."

Ordinance Forbidding Traders, Merchants, Commoners and Others Who Are Not Officers to Carry a Sword.

Given at Paris, July 23, 1720.

By order of the King:

"The King being informed of disorders arising in his colonies from persons carrying a sword who have no right to do so, and desiring to stop this abuse, His Majesty advised by the Regent, His Highness, the Duke of Orleans, forbids all traders, merchants and commoners who are not officers of merchant ships to carry any offensive or defensive weapon in the towns and villages of his colonies under penalty of three months imprisonment. Permission is given by His Majesty to captains, lieutenants and ensigns of the said ships to carry a sword.

Mandate and order by His Majesty to governors and lieutenants general in his colonies, and to the Intendants of these to hold all Councillors to the execution of the present ordinance which shall be read, published and registered where needful.

Done at Paris, this twenty-third day of July, one thousand, seven hundred and twenty.

Signed: "LOUIS."

And lower: FLEURIAN."

Specie in Louisiana in 1723.

Extract from Records of Council of State.

"The King being informed that the piastre has circulated in Louisiana only at the rate of four pounds or four francs a piece, and this price not being proportionate to the value of the same specie

established in Martinique and St. Domingo, nor at its actual value in France, and this difference being prejudicial to commerce in this colony, it is necessary to establish the specie and that of Spain on the same basis as that in circulation in the islands of America.

Considering the report Sieur Jodium, (councillor of the Royal Council of Council of Regency, Comptroller General of His Majesty's finances, aid to the Regent, Duke of Orleans), has ordered and orders that Spanish specie in circulation in Louisiana, beginning at the time of promulgation of this edict will be on the same footing: viz, at thirty pounds or francs for a pistole in weight and of seven pounds and seven cents for the piastre in weight.

His Majesty intends that other moneys of Spain should be valued according to the substance they contain.

Given at the Council of State of the King, at Versailles, this twelfth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three.

Signed: "FLEURIAN."

Registered in the Superior Council of New Orleans, Louisiana, April 20th, 1723."

Friendly Note in 1726.

"Fifteen days ago, dear Friend, I asked you to have 100 francs paid to me on account of your... I believe that you have not yet been able to do so, since you did not send the sum, and the laws of friendship forbid me to think otherwise; I then beg you, in the name of those same laws and of all that is most dear to you to send it to me. I am denuded of everything; I have not enough to pay for a pint of milk. I took on credit today a pair of thread stockings for my daughter.

I embrace you as usual,

Your constant and faithful friend,"

A. DEFONTAINE.

I am on broth, I have but one chicken to kill."

Data Concerning the Natchez Massacre 1729-1730.

Joined to Mr. Salmon's letter July 29, 1741:

"We deputies of Council following the French army, commanded by Mr. Chevalier de Louboy at the Natchez Company of 1729 and 1730, certify having received the declarations which come hereafter of the numbering and "recensement" of those killed at the time that the massacre was begun by the Natchez savages, Novem-

ber 1, 1729, to August 1st, 1730.—*Compiled from the Archives of the Lousiana Historical Society.*

AT THE NATCHEZ POST.

Messrs.

1. De Chepart—Basque—Commander at said post.
2. Du Coder—from St. Simphorien, commander from the Yazoos.
3. Rev. Father Poisson—Jesuit from the Yazoos.
4. Bailly—from Picardy, chief clerk.
5. De la Loire—des Ursins, de St. Germaine en Laye.
6. Masse—Lieutenant, his wife and his niece.
7. de Noyer—function of aide major and director of the concession of "Terre Blanche," his wife is living, married to Mr. Joye, called Rougeot.
8. Duges—called La Sonde, surgeon of the post, his wife is living.
9. Delongrais—Director of the concession of St. Catherine.
10. de Koly—Father and son, Bavalon and Valer, overseer and notary.
11. Renepez—Notary (Bavalon).
12. Ville Neuve—Gascon, his wife and one child.
13. Louis Mirault—(called St. Louis) tailor, his child, his wife is living, married to Plaisant (fisherman).
14. Le Tontillier—(called La Marche) his wife and a child.
15. Livernai—his wife and one child, provincial who came to the concession of Mr. W.
16. Gavignon—Antoine, called La Trape; his wife is living married to Judice.
17. Chartier—Julien, from Burgundy, his wife and child, came to the concession of Mr. de Koly.
18. Dispasse—Jean (called Beausejour) came as a soldier, his child.
19. Dubie—Francois, Parisian from the parish of St. Sulpice; his wife is living.
20. Lemaire—Jean Charles (called Cambrelot); came as a soldier to Mr. Le Blanc's concession, also his wife, a German.
21. Henry—(called little St. Louis), his wife and two children.
22. Picard—d'Abeville, his wife and son-in-law.
23. Leonard—Gascon, came to the concession of Mr. Law.
24. Charente—his wife, two children and a slave.
25. Brise Bois—Canadian.
26. Mesplet—de Pau in Bearn.
27. St. Amand—his wife is living, married to Merillon.
28. Caron—Parisian, (Patron) for the Company.
29. Pascal—from Province, master of a galley; his wife is living, married to Marin, inn-keeper.
30. Sabaniez—from Bayonne, and his wife.
31. Langlois—Parisian, came in the troops, cadet.
32. Laurent Hurlst—(called little La Soude); his wife and daughter.
33. Antoine Jouard—(called Mouton), from Savoy; came as a soldier.
34. Jean George Sent (called Lalemand), his wife is living, married to Nicolas.
35. Jean Rousin.
36. Pierre Billy, (called La Tenesse) Gascon.
37. Joseph Ducrocq—from Provence, cooper of the Company.
38. Pierre Dovido—(called the Blue) Gascon, came to Law's concession.
39. La Forest and wife, came by compulsion.

40. Grimand La Plaine—his wife, child and niece.
41. Le Choux—clerk and interpreter, his child and niece. His wife is living, married to Cantrel.
42. Anselme Foucault—(called La Fleur), Parisian, came as a soldier.
43. François Sentis—German.
44. Jean Dillon and a child.
45. François Certain, his brother-in-law and two children.
46. Gabriel Poulin—Parisian, his wife is living, married to Vaudoine.
47. Levesque—(from La Rochelle), and a boy.
48. Lambremont—Pierre, and a child from concession of Mr. Ceard.
49. Jean Louis Dupin, came as a soldier.
50. Jean Flandrin, from Mont Dragon, his wife, two children; he has a son living.
51. Francoise Tresson—(from Picardy), wife of Michel Beau.
52. Papin—his wife, two children.
53. Longueville—Louis, came to Mr. Kolly's concession.
54. La Ferte—from Canada.
55. Etienne Reine—Flemish; his wife is living, married to Roy; came to Mr. Ceard's concession.
56. Larteau—tailor from La Rochelle.
57. Bideau—son of a wagon-maker of Paris, came as a soldier, and his wife whom the savages slacked open to take the unborn child.
58. Ponçonnet—his wife and two children.
59. Mandet.
60. Le Drusseau—his wife.
61. Barbien.
62. Massiot.
63. Cantrel Fe—wife of Cantrel, mid-wife by profession.
64. Guerin—his wife and child.
65. Tondere Fe—Tondere's wife, daughter of the wife of Soubaniez, sister of Rousseau's wife. (Rousseau was le postier.)
66. Simon Robinet—from Burgundy, his wife is married to La Coste.
67. Du Chene—Tuvalide, came to Mr. Koly's concession.
68. Quidor—from Burgundy, came under compulsion with a man named Pierre.
69. Fouliaux—his wife and one child, came to Mr. Koly's concession.
70. Le Clerc—his wife and two children.
71. Le Neven—de Mr. de Langrais.
72. Madame—came to Mr. Koly's concession.
73. Pry-Valin—his wife and one child, came to Mr. Le Blanc's concession.
74. Robechon—his wife and one child.
75. Auberlus—his wife and child.
76. Pierre Selsemitte—his wife and his brother's child.
77. Caspar Tilly—his wife, his brother and two children.
78. Rossort—his wife and child.
79. La Douceur—came as soldier to Dartaguette concession.
80. A child, Nicholas' son.
81. Maçon (called Le Grand) from Rochelle, his wife and two children.
82. Sans Soucy—servant of Mr. Guilio. (Sans souci means without care).
83. Estienne—blacksmith of Mr. Langrais.
84. Mirly (woman) wife of Mirly and one child, came from Mr. Le Blanc's concession.

85. Du Couroy—cooper from La Rochelle.
86. Pascal—cooper from La Rochelle.
87. La Lande—his wife.
88. Gorepil.
89. Bonaventure.
90. Joly (cabinet maker) and his wife, from Paris.
91. La Coeur, cabinet maker, from Paris.
92. Le Gere—cabinet maker from Paris, came from concession of Mr. Reveillon.
93. Fobu—carpenter from Paris, came as a soldier.
94. Baptiste—carpenter from Paris, came as a soldier.
95. Jean Joan—from Paris, his daughter married in St. Louis.
96. Ribert—from Paris, came as soldier.
97. Picart—from Paris, came as soldier.
98. Montiot—his wife and child, from Picardy.
99. Charlot—servant of Mr. de Kolly.
100. Bourbeaux—was killed coming down the river, came from Poiton.
101. Pierre Tondou—wife and child.
102. Beau Soleil—in the service of Sabaines.
103. Bourguignon—wore long hair (under compulsion).
104. Cormeray—cooper from Nantes, and a woman he was to marry.
105. Richard (widow) and her child.
106. La Renaudais—store-keeper of Terre Blanche.
107. Pierre Litant—soldier.
108. Benischere.
109. St. Pierre—workman of Mr. Bourbeaux, came to Reveillon concession.
110. Badaud.
111. Le Maire—Company's cooper from La Rochelle.
112. Dauphine—his wife and adopted daughter.
113. Montauban.
114. Pierre Alain Duguay—from Rennes (Brittany), his wife married to La Prade.
115. Aubrelay—his wife and child.
Unknown German and one child.
116. Bourguignon—tailor, who came to Mr. Dumanoir's concession.
117. Louis Brunet—called La Giberne, Parisian, came as soldier.
118. Bersonis—from Provence, came as soldier.
119. François Doyer.
120. Bacanal—from Burgundy, drummer in Mr. Le Blanc's company.
121. Boury (woman), wife of Boury and his daughter burned by the savages.
122. Castahonet—from Picardy (sailor) came under compulsion.
123. Caillon—from Donay, (Flanders), his wife and daughter, came under compulsion.
124. Collin, and his wife, came to Mr. Le Blanc's concession.
125. Cappé—his wife and brother-in-law.
126. Chevalier—from ——, from Mr. Diron's concession.
127. De Vienge—officer for the Company.
128. Du Bourg—soldier (from Brittany).
129. Felix—corporal.
130. François Frattin (from Laws' concession), and brother-in-law.
131. Flamand, and his wife.
132. Tuma—from Provence, Law's concession.

133. Soyoux.
134. Fontaine—Jean Baptiste, from Artois, came as soldier.
135. Unknown boy, seven years old, died at the Chonachas.
136. Gratin—(called Plantin) from Arcours, wagoner on Le Blanc concession.
137. Gonpy.
138. Jean Hollande—Hollande and his wife came under compulsion.
139. Jean Louis—soldier.
140. Le Prince—corporal, servant of the count de Vreux, came from Le Blanc concession.
141. La Jeunesse—soldier, from Le Blanc concession.
142. Le Houssaye—his wife is living, married to the gardener of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers.
143. Lauclume—soldier.
144. Lovrain—soldier.
145. Le Boileux—wife and child.
146. La Ferte—from Burgundy, on Mr. Kolly's concession.
147. Jacques Lottier.
148. La France, soldier.
149. Lionnois—soldier of Mr. Le Blanc's concession.

AT TERRE BLANCHE.

150. La Jazette.
151. La Rose.
152. La Croix—Parisian, whose father is clerk; his son-in-law, who came from Le Blanc concession.
153. La Gibardiere.
154. La Fortune—corporal, from Le Blanc concession.
155. Sans Chagrin—from Auvergne, corporal.
156. Parisien.
157. Pierre—his wife.
158. Two children belonging to Mr. Le Page du Prat.
159. Poulin.
160. Petit Jean.
161. Postillon (from Abbeville), soldier, his wife living, married to Avignon, innkeeper.
162. Charles Pichon—(called La Ramée), his wife and one child.
163. Quimpert—(from Brittany), officer on Siam concession.
164. Three children from Raimond's, one his own, the others unknown.
\+ Unknown man from Rousseau's.
\+ Unknown child from Rocancourt's.
165. Rabier—Gascon from Law's concession.
166. Saint Denis (called La Laucette), came as soldier, his wife is married to Ferrand, tavern keeper.
167. Paul Salomon—(from Brest), came to Ste Houie concession.
168. Saint François—his wife living, married to Maupierre.
169. Saint Jean—soldier.
170. Saint Simon—soldier, from Lisle, Flanders.
171. Frianon—cadet from Brittany.
172. Visse Bras (from Brittany), cadet from Dumanoir concession.
173. Va de bon Coeur—(from Brittany), cadet from Le Blanc concession.

POST OF THE YAZOOS.

174. Chevalier des Roches, commander of the post.
175. Rev. Father Souel, Jesuit, and his negro burned.
176. Poupart—son of a Paris butcher.
177. Trusol, from Provence.
178. ——, a native of Orleans, aged 29 years, his family is at Mr. Villeray's in Paris.
179. Cossard—surgeon of Paris from the parish of St. Germain l'auxerrois.
180. Castor—from Law's concession.
181. Aubry—came as soldier to Dartaguette concession, and an English associate, known under no other name but.
182. L'Angliche—
183. Adrien—builder from St. Malo, parish of St. Servant.

"We the undersigned inhabitants of the province of Louisiana, certify to all whom it may concern that the names in the present "recensement" have been really killed and buried at the time of the massacre of all the French at that post, and at the post of Yazoo by the Natchez savages.

In faith whereof, we set our hand and seal, in New Orleans, this thirteenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven."

(Original, signed:)

"AVIGNON,
TARASCON,
JACQUES JUDICE,
(for his wife, widow Trape.)
MAURICE
LUC,
LEVESQUE."

Toudes.

Mark + of widow La Lancette, called St. Simon.
Mark + of widow Andree Georges.
Mark + of widow Criee.
Mark + of widow Louis Henry.—A cross for their ordinary mark and Prevost with manual-sign (paraphe) Deputy of Council in the campaign of Chevalier de Louboy.

"We, the undersigned, Apostolic Missionary, Vicar-General of His Bishop of Quebec, do certify to all concerned that the present list of persons killed in Natchez massacre is conform to the original paper in our hands.

In faith whereof, we have signed for whom it may serve, in New Orleans, this fourteenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven.

FATHER MATTHIAS, Vicar-General."

Relative to Natchez Massacre.

Fort Chartres, April 14, 1730.

"*My dear Friend*:

The dugout of Mr. Perrier and de la Chaise made —— leagues to come to this place in all haste to advise us of the massacre of the French established at Natchez, at the Yazoos and on the river. We are all affected by this tragic event. The conspiracy did not break out this far though the Illinois had been invited by the Chickasaws, last summer, to that effect, and we would not have had wind of it through our settlers till the advent of Mr. Girarda and Coulanges. This gives us reason to think that they had bad designs and we have no way of knowing if they still persist.

However it may be, we are actually praying, fortifying ourselves and holding everything in condition so as to avoid a surprise from those barbarians, who cannot be trusted, and in whom we must not have any confidence, being always exposed to be slaughtered if not on our guard.

Signed: TERISSE de TERNAN."

(Translated from Louisiana Historical Society papers.)

PROPOSAL TO FREE NEGROES

Memorial of Mr. de la Chaise.

To the Councillors of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

"Exposed to a disaster like that which happened at Natchez, where all the inhabitants were inhumanly massacred, obliged to have recourse to all sorts of means to baffle these barbarians, the most pressing need was to speedily advise the distant posts to be on the alert. Mr. Perrier found men of good will who offered to undertake the perilous journey. They were accompanied by a few negroes chosen among the boldest, and they were promised freedom if they inviolably kept their word. There are also several other negroes who, at the time of the Natchez siege, gave proofs of valor and attachment to the French nation, and exposed themselves to peril with intrepidity. Some were even wounded, and as this is a very important affair, and that it is a question of holding the negroes and attaching them, so that we may rely on them on such occasions, the question is to find means best calculated to attain that end. We believe we cannot reward them otherwise than by granting them freedom. That will give others a great desire to deserve similar favors by material services, and besides a company may be formed

of free negroes that can be placed in the posts which the commander will judge proper, which company is to be always ready to march on short notice.

As there were then a great number of negroes at Natchez, I do not exactly know those who did best and who will be rewarded, therefore they will be chosen from the reports and testimony of the officers in this war and on the account given by them to Mr. Perrier, who will choose them. We cannot do better than to refer this to him and beg him to demand an account of their good and bad qualities.

This considered, may it be your pleasure to grant freedom to the negroes who went to Illinois, and to whom it was promised Mr. Perrier to point out those to whom he judges it to be proper to give the same. In the report made to him, conditions and clauses prescribed by the "Black Code," must be adhered to.

New Orleans, this sixteenth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and thirty (1730)."

(Translation from Louisiana Historical Society documents.)

Military Companies in New Orleans in 1724.

In New Orleans, 3 leagues below the Tchapitoulas are the companies hereafter named.

I have the honor of giving you a summary of the condition in which I left them and if I have not done so for the others it is due to my inability to ascertain their strength.

Richebourg Company:—Sargents, three; corporals, two; drummers, two; fifers, one; soldiers, twenty-four.

De la Marque's Company:—Sargents, two; corporals, three; drummers, one; soldiers, forty-one.

Le Blanc's Company:—Sargent, one; corporals, three; drummers, one; fifers, one; cadets, one; soldiers, twenty-seven.

There are also the companies of Mandeville, Latour, Loubois and Marchand. Though this post does not seem to be advantageous, it cannot fail to become important on account of its proximity to Pensacola, where the Spaniards are established, and that is the key for us to New England . . . . it is but sand and all the other posts are very good lands.

Here, there are thirty heads of horned cattle, five or six horses and thirty to thirty-five hogs, etc.

Further on the memorial describes the different concessions; taxes Le Blanc with extravagance and improvidence in erecting "magnificent building" on land liable to be inundated and which will never give any return for the money spent on it.

Of Mr. de Bienville's plantation he writes that it is only a half league below the city, that "it is not one of the least fine in the colony" and that it will this year make more indigo than any other, etc.

This memorial is signed:

BAUET.

And is written in 1724.

Presents for the Indians in 1699.

In 1699 d'Iberville gives the list of presents bought for the savages: 500 small axes, 20 jackets and fustian caps, 20 red cloaks of limbirg cloth, trimmed with gold and imitation silver braid on their edges, 30 white blankets of 2½ points, 60 kettles, 600 trade needles, 500 common scissors pairs, 10 gross of ordinary leggings, 10 gross of boucherons, common, 400 tin mirrors, medium size, 400-lbs. of assorted beads, 200 scrapers, 10 gross of mystery bells, 200 trade shirts, 50 pairs of trade stockings, 400-lbs. of tobacco, 10-lbs. of vermilion, 10-lbs. of azure, 100 swords with handles, 400 steel arrows for bows, 200 bellows, 1-barrel of raisins, 50 swords of better quality, 100-lbs. of pots, 2-barrels of prunes, 6 steel calumets.

Census of 1726.

In 1721 New Orleans extended from the river to Dauphine, which was not yet opened, and from North to South from Ursuline to Bienville.

The census of 1726, at the time of Bienville's recall to France, gives the names of the different streets and their inhabitants. This paper is reproduced to show the gradual extension of the city.

"*Rue du Quay*" (river front)—The hospital, 3 infirmarians, Mr. Prat's servant, a gardener, a washerwoman, 2 negroes, 2 negresses; Mr. Massy; Mr. Raguet, his wife; Messrs. Dartaguette and Thierry residing together; Mr. Dupuy, ensign, and his wife; The "direction" where Mr. Perrault and his two clerks are lodged; Mr. Duval, his wife and one child; Bellegrade, (baker), and Conian, employee and boarder; The Dreux brothers are counted on their plantation; Matthieu Roy, (blacksmith); Reboul, hunter; Mr. de Pauger, engineer; Tisserand, counted on his plantation; Mr. Bonnaud, former storekeeper, his wife and child; Mr. Trudeau, and six children; Mr. de Noyan's house in which Petit de Livilliers and his wife reside.

Rue de Chartres was that portion of this street beginning at St. Peter street; the other side to Esplanade was called Condé.

House belonging to the Jesuits (vacant); a large house owned by the Ste. Reine concession, occupied by Mr. de la Chaise, his wife, two

children and a clerk; Morand and his wife; Deblanc (major); Michel Seringué, carpenter, his wife and child; Mr. Ceard; Mr. Brusle, concessionaire, his wife and sister-in-law; Mr. de Mandeville; his wife and two children; Mr. Perry, concessionaire and a clerk; Prevost, bookkeeper; Cariton, tailor, his wife and child; Findor, traveler, Joseph Ducro, wife and child; Mr. Sarazin, former store-keeper, his wife and three children; St. Martin, wife and three children; DuVal occupies an old house; three Canadian travelers; Messrs. Marest de la Tour, brothers; Mr. Rossard, notary of court and a clerk; Couv, (store boy), Clairfontaine (employee) and Tesson (traveler); Bellair (workman by the day), his wife and three children; Aufrère, his wife and children; Thomelin, cabinet maker, and two children; a non-rented house belonging to the Dartagnan concession.

Rue de Condé:—Ozanne and Pannetier, coopers; a small house belonging to Joseph Carrière, where he stops when he comes to town; Messrs. de Lassus (brothers), surveyors; DuVal Chevreuil, (goldsmith), Thomas Anulin, (hunter), and his wife; Jean Caron (baker), his wife and child; Chapron, counted on his plantation; Joseph Moreau, (locksmith), and three children; Mr. de Boisbriant, Commander-General, his nephew and his secretary; Busson, (Indigo worker); Villeurs, billiard keeper; Lefrère Malo, (tailor), and Louis le Dain; Provenche and his wife; a house belonging to deceased Cabassier where reside St. Laurent and his wife; widow Drillard and two children.

Rue Philippes:—Chesneau, cannoneer of the town, and two children; Joseph, day workman, his wife and two children; Etienne Barrosson, (blacksmith), and wife, one child and Jacques Veillon, turner; Dupont and his wife; Nicolas Guidon (traveler), his wife and child; Louis Colet, wife and child and widow Lafonet.

Rue de l'Arsenal:—La Violette (traveler), and wife; widow Christine de la Vallie, her daughter and François La Clerf, her husband, (sailor); Jean Simon, wife and child; Réné Malin, wife and child.

Rue Royale:—Mr. Cheparre; Laurent; Jean Resnau, (day workman), wife and child; Henry Bigeon (called La Violette), his wife and child; and Gilles, (hunter); Antoine Micon, (carpenter), and wife; Jacques Gouy, (called St. André), his wife and two children; Gracé, (hunter), and wife; Jean Merle; Vincent Huissier and wife; Dizier, (wig-maker), his wife and two children; Nicolas Fisseau, wife and two children; Bonnaventure, wife and two children; Thomas Dezerey, (carpenter); La Flamme, (day workman), and wife; Martin Godart and wife; Guillaume Blanvillain, Barthelmy Mackie, wife and child;

Louis Brouet, (wagon-maker), and wife; Noel Aubert (chandelier), wife and child; Joseph Petitchard, wife and child; Lue Poirier, (armorer) and wife; Louise Bouret, (widow), Gilles Lemire and two children; Yres Onet, (sailor), and wife; Françoise Portier; Joseph Boisdore, (tailor), Pierre Poitevin and wife; Jean Pascal, fat wife and child; Julien Binard, (blacksmith), and wife; Guillaume Lemoine, (called Le Normand), wife and child; Nicolas Portier, (cabinet maker), and wife; Jean Mansieres (patron), wife and child; Pierre Pitin, wife and child; La Raguette, (sailor); Marie Beauregard; Jean Naner, (called Plaisance), and one child; Denis Fernandou, wife and François Dunalie; Jacques François Jaquet, wife and child; the Rev. Capuchin missionary curates; Pierre Plouin, (workman); Pierre Ponsselle, (tailor); Claude Fontaine, (traveler), wife and child; wife of Guillaume Perrier; commander of the Company's plantation and one child; Sulpice l'Evique (locksmith), wife and three children; Sans Soucy, (traveler), and wife; Barbejouanne and one child; Le Veuf, (shoemaker), wife and two children; Nicolas Pierron; Dame Alorge, widow Grandschamps, and one child; widow Candel, and two children; Jean Coupart, (cabinet maker), wife and two children; Mr. Roger and wife; a large house belonging to Mr. Chauvin de Lafrenière, where he stays when he comes to town; Mr. Fazende, (concessionaire), wife and child, mother-in-law, and brother-in-law; Danville, wife and child, and Ste Marie, (employee-boarder); house belonging to Mr. Dupuy Planchard, where no one lives; Mr. Bru, cashier; Mr. St. Quintin (employee); Mr. Etienne, (former storekeeper); Dame Sylvestre.

Rue Bourbon:—François Triboulet; (former sailor); Mr. Du Tour, (employee); Gaspard Didier, (cabinet maker), wife and two children; Charles Goubin, (workman), by the day; Antoine Caron, (patron), and wife; Jean Baptiste Barre and wife; François Cheropecheur; Françoise Leflot; Lafleur, (wagoneer); Jacques Guyon and wife; Joseph Le Cham (called La Rose), wife and child; Réné Père, (marshal); Joinette Genest and one child; Antoine Bunel, (wagon maker), wife and child; François Bourdon, (carpenter), wife and their children; Mr. Jacob, (employee) and daughter-in-law; widow Delaistre and one child; La Bouillonnerie, (called La Douceur), wife and three children, are to return to France; Pierre Bernard and wife; Nicolas Francoeur and wife; Daniel Raffeau and wife; (slater); Jacques Coquelin, (called le forme), wife and three children; Etienne Durant, (called Durante), wife and three children; François Frignet, wife and child; Michel Brosset, surgeon; Nicolas Branton, (armorer of the company); Pierre Pivet, (armorer of the Company); Pouyadon de la

Tour, surgeon; Antoine Negrier (contre maitre), and wife; Dumesnil, (traveler), wife and child, (return to France); Martin Duchateau and Nicolas Duire, (shoemakers); Antoine Commercy, (cutter); Nicolas Xavier, wife and child; Etienne Beaueour, (hunter), and wife); Marie Magdeleine Bachelet and four children; François Alix (called La Rose), brewer, wife and child; François Canelle, (carpenter), and wife; Messrs. Bron and de Montarges, (employees); Louis Philidor, (called St. Hilaire), carpenter, wife and two children; Marie Landreau; François Mansion, (traveler), and wife; Jean Mertuis, (called Dauphine), and wife; Claude Donney, (caulker), wife and two children; Jacques Vallerand, (turner), wife and one child; André Bertot, (carpenter), and wife; Mr. Mesnard, (former employee of concession); Nicolas Goumy, (mason), wife and two children; Bastien Leguin, Claude Martin, Jacques Selain, and Pierre Le Comte, (workmen); Jean Baptiste Bergeron and wife; Mr. Tronquidy, wife and child; Jacques Saunier and wife; Gracien Lautier, wife and two children; Pierre Piguere, (baker), wife and child; widow Guyot and one child; Pierre Petit, wife and child; Thomas Guichard, wife and child.

Rue de Bienville:—Mr. de Chavannes, (secretary of the Council); Mr. Fleurian, (Attorney-General), his wife and sister; house of Jacques Carrière, (counted on his plantation); Mr. Goulas, former Swiss officer; François Brachon, wife and child; François Gagné and wife; Rodolphe Martin, wife and two children; Toussaint Bonvalier, wife and two children; David, (cabinet maker), his wife and brother; Etienne Patray and David Billon; Dr. Alexandre, surgeon-major of the hospital; Jean Vit, (cabinet maker), and son; Jean François Manard; Martin Lantier, (cabinet maker), wife and child; Jean Baptiste Lantier, (cabinet maker); Morice Canot and wife; Nicolas Christino, (cabinet maker), wife and child.

Rue St. Louis:—Gilles Anot, wife and child; Therese Pichot; Sebastien Lartaut, (tailor), wife and child; Edme Soupart, (called La Fleur), traveler; François St. Amand, (employee of concession), wife and two children; Toinette Frambert, wife of Penigault Couturier.

Rue Toulouse:—Claude Courtin, Jacques Le Fevre, Jean Drou, François Loiseau, Marc Le Gaufre, all sailors; Jean Costier, (carpenter), and wife; Honore Roturiau, (miller); Pierre Carmes, wife and child; Charles Dupont and wife; Claude Hue, (boiler-maker), and wife; Nicolas Cardon, (wagoner), wife and child, and Viniante, (fisherman); Joseph Breda and wife; Antoine Allard, (called Postillon), and wife; Louis Rousseau, his wife and two children; Louis Corneille, (tailor).

Rue St. Pierre:—Morisset and Huet, (former employees); wife of Chamilly and five children; widow Saussier and five children; widow Lasalle and one child; Jacques Robert, his wife and three children; Martin Jacquillon, (sailor), and wife; Pierre Coussot, Joseph Terrier and wife and Guillaume Dieu; Mr. Pitache, (employee), wife and child, Jacques Dupré, (cabinet maker), and wife; François Moreau and wife; Jean Molet, (called La Riviere), and wife.

Rue St. Adrien:—Carpentras, (carpenter), his wife and one child.

Rue de Clermont:—Réné Touche and wife; Vincent, (workman by the day); La Guidon.

Rue Dumaine:—Beaume, (Canadian), his wife and three children; Jean Bignard, (cooper), wife and child; Contois, (lime maker), wife and one child.

Rue Ste Anne:—Bodson, (blacksmith); La Treille, (cooper), and wife; Jardela, wife and two children; Marguerite La Provencalle; Bourguignon, (locksmith), and wife; Lazon, (captain of a transport), and wife; Dezerbois, (captain of a transport), and wife.

Rue Orleans:—Fontaine, (tailor,) and wife; Robert Guitain, wife and one child; Joseph, (workman), wife and child; St. Paul, (workman), wife and child; Honore Lambert and wife.

In 1727 the census shows the King's hospital "rue du Quay with Sr. Grau as overseer."

On rue Conde we notice the added names or P. Raphael, Grand Vicar and Father Theodore, curate of New Orleans and Brother Siriet, (probably Brother Cyrillo who for a time taught the boys of the colony). On Rue Conde, Pouyadon de la Tour, (surgeon).

A cross street had been opened in the rear of Bourbon street, (probably Dauphine); and Conti is mentioned for the first time.

The comparison between the census of 1726 and that of 1727 stands thus:

	Masters		
1726—	602	1727—	729
	Servants		
"	47	"	65
	Negro Slaves		
"	81	"	127
	Other Slaves		
"	25	"	17
	Horned Cattle		
"	1	"	132
	Horses		
"		"	10

In 1732 Condé street does not appear, and before "Philippes" comes "Façade de Bois," (front facing woods).

The population of New Orleans in 1732 numbered:

Men carrying arms	229
Marriageable women and girls	169
Children	183
Orphans	45
Whites	626
Negroes	102
Negresses	74
Young negroes (negrillous ou negrites)	76
Savages	3
Savagesses	6
Mulattoes (male and female)	6
Horses 14	
Bulls 13	
Cows 39	
Guns	313
Pistols	25
	338

Instance of a Claim of "Squatter's Rights" in 1724

The engineer Pauger who made the first plan of New Orleans, and the sounding of the Mississippi which established the depth of the mouth of the river, entered suit against Bienville who sold part of a concession made to him, to the Company of the Indies, on which land de Pauger had settled and expended a sum of money on improvements.

His Petition

Gentlemen of the Superior Council of Louisiana:

Mr. de Pauger humbly represents that since three years he is in possession of a non-occupied tract of land on the side of the river, opposite New Orleans, where he has built a house, cleared about eight arpents of frontage, and put it in condition to produce a passable crop; that to maintain this enterprise he bought a negro for whom he last year refused 1800 pounds or francs offered him by different individuals, which negro, (piece d'Inde)* has since died from overwork on said land; he then installed, during a year, a German family to whom he made considerable advances, and also to five or six workmen whom he kept during more than fifteen months, fed on French bread, brandy and meat, hoping after this peaceable possession to enlarge his plantation and put it

on a good footing. He was astonished to hear today that Mr. de Bienville wishes to evict him from this tract and cede it to the Company, the Company knowing him to be in possession of more than four leagues of land on both sides of the river, has requested a portion of it for itself, which Mr. de Bienville could easily have granted without affecting to cede this particular tract occupied by me which, by law, cannot belong to him:

Mr. de Pauger's reasons are:

1°. He has had undisturbed possession of it since three years without any judicial notice concerning it.

2°. He has cleared it, built and spent on it more than 2500 pounds, and lost a negro, (piece d'Inde), worth 1800 pounds.

3°. Peaceable tri-ennial possession followed by clearing and successive culture, without interruption, gives him incontestable right according to the laws made for unoccupied and uncultivated lands.

In consideration of this and all these just reasons, may it please you, gentlemen, to order that the said Mr. de Pauger be maintained and held in possession of said plantation as is just.

New Orleans this third day of February, seventeen hundred and twenty-four.

Signed: Brusle, Fazende, Perry.

Judgment of Superior Council in Suit of Pauger vs. Bienville.

Considering the suit between Mr. de Pauger, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, engineer of the King, plaintiff in a demand to be confirmed in possession and privileges and Mr. de Bienville, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Commander General of the province, defendant: All evidence having been duly examined I demand for the King that the said Mr. de Pauger, be declared in non-possession, and without plea nor prescription; that Mr. de Bienville's right to sell the heritage in question, situated on the right right bank of the St. Louis river, be maintained; that experts be named to value the clearing, cultivation and buildings made on said plantation, and all considered and carefully examined, that, if not named by the parties they be named by the Superior Council, who, after having sworn them in, will draw up the verbal process.

New Orleans, this ninth day of February, 1724."

Signed: FLEURIAN.

*Piece d'Inde was a negro or negress above fourteen years.

Levees.

An ordinance obliged each concessionaire to build levees and forbade the opening of an outlet to the river into the plantations. Some planters protected themselves by draining their land into the adjoining plantations and numerous suits followed:

March 15, 1724.

"Mr. de Chaville, engineer of the King, and Broutin, captain and engineer, went to the Chapitoulas, by request of the Superior Council, to examine the course of the water proceeding from the overflow of the Mississippi river. We first noticed the plantation of Mr. Dubreuil in ascending, those of the de Lery brothers; Beaulieu and Lafrenière, and beyond the grant of the Ste. Reine, that the waters from the overflow opposite the said grant and plantation flowed towards the first aforesaid and that the checking of the said waters affected by a levee the length of these plantations made them rise higher than the Ste Reine grant, where they spread to reintegrate their natural stream.

Their ordinary outlet according to what we examined is through a bayou or stream between the Lafrenière plantation and that of Mr. de Beaulieu, which carries the water into the depth of their land, where it spreads more or less as its situation allows, all of which confirms that the stream would be an outlet for an ordinary flow of water which accumulated opposite the said plantations.

There are swamps on the south bed which is an evident sign that from all time they were subject to overflows from the Mississippi river. It appears to us besides that the weight of water sustained by the dam extending from the Dubreuil plantation to the river is considerable, and it is likely that the water partly drains through low bottoms situated opposite the Debreuil plantation and spreads over Mr. Debreuil's cultivated ground.

All considered and carefully examined it appears to us that the inundation reaching the grant of Ste Reine was caused by the checking of the drainage above and especially by the opening of a ditch by Mr. Lafrenière to the river, which furnished the first waters, and that the actual present disorder in the said concession can be remedied by draining the water through the above mentioned stream which apparently will suffice to draw the water away from the Ste Reine tract, which in a short time would be fit for cultivation.

For the common welfare of said concessionaires and plantations it is of absolute necessity to prevent the water from spreading over the lands and to this end each plantation should build a levee joined

to the next, and so on the whole length of the Mississippi, with a ditch, within the grounds, to receive the water which would come through the levees and would be brought through canals into the depth of the lands; to fill up the ditches which communicate with the Mississippi, it being well understood that this is for those who have made them; this would prevent all accidents and contention between the concessionaires and the inhabitants of the Chapitoulas.

Chapitoulas, March 15, 1724.

Signed: CHAVILLE,
BROUTIN."

Memorial of Mr. Ceard vs. Chauvin Brothers, Inhabitants of Chapitoulas.

Gentlemen of the Superior Council will have the kindness to notice that Mr. Dubreuil having made a levee to guard against overflowing water from the river, this levee gave occasion to Messrs. Chauvin to conceive the design of constructing a mill on their lands. Mr. Lafrenière since made a levee reaching to the banks of the Mississippi; and to insure his safety, he also had a ditch dug to the river, which made an outlet which is "Authentically" forbidden by the law. This ditch gave entrance to the Mississippi, which was not necessary, as the lands from Mr. Dubreuil's plantation to the buildings of Mr. Ceard are low bottoms, which sometimes become a lake, never dry summer nor winter and remaining swampy during the whole year, serving as a drain to these lands and as an outlet to the overflow of the Mississippi.

Petitioner begs the Council to note two facts: The first that the soil gradually rises from the Mr. Dubreuil's to petitioner's tract, so that even if the land is flooded it is never half so much so, and this only after Messrs. Dubreuil and Chauvin are submerged. It is to be noted that, even when these lower lands were under water, it never happened to the Ste Reine plantation, when it was occupied by Messrs. Guenot, Massy and Courot, and that it always was a half foot above water.

Secondly, that as soon as the levees and ditches of Messrs. Chauvin were finished and the bayou of Mr. Beaulieu closed, the water fell at Mr. Ceard's. Long before the Mississippi overflowed tracts were inundated which had not been flooded within man's memory.

He took the precaution to build levees proportionate to the site under suspicion, and to show that this is not a case of negligence he can assert that this precaution had been taken before Mr. Lafrenière

had constructed the levee as far as the fence of Mr. Ceard, and, not satisfied with this, he built a second levee when he saw the water rising over the first levee, to prevent the overflow from reaching any further; all to no avail, though he had large ditches dug on his land to facilitate the drainage of the waters.

This expense would have brought good results if the Messrs. Chauvin had not worked in a way to cause the swell of the waters. Otherwise Mr. Ceard's land would not have been inundated. Last year the Mississippi rose and its overflow was much greater. As proof of facts advanced these same inundated lands were sowed with indigo and prepared to receive seeds, all of which tends to prove that the cause was the outlet made to the river and the closing of the bayou on land of Messrs. Chauvin.

Thirdly. That the precautions taken to put in pipes and to dig ditches for drainage instead of being to our advantage helped to destroy us by leading the water in too great abundance into the cypress wood, back of our clearing.

This spot not being able to hold the water which the work done by these gentlemen caused to rise higher and which fell on our land from the natural slope of the said cypress wood and inundated the rear of our tract. This prevents our ploughing or sowing, except on so small a portion that it will not suffice to furnish even one-fourth of the food necessary for our dependents to the next harvest. We are moreover unable to have any labor done on planks and carpenter's work in this same cypress tract, which being unapproachable to all workmen cuts short our work on edifices and levees. I have ascertained that the parties above us, to gain their cause, say that if Mr. Ceard had made ordinary dikes he would not have been inundated.

This falls of itself for three reasons: The first that these same parties made theirs only after having waited for results of Mr. Debreuil's work which they at first blamed.

Secondly, that Mr. Ceard being higher could not consequently diminish the swell caused by the works of the said Messrs. Lafrenière and Beaulieu, which was so evident that Mr. Lafrenière knowing that the fault was unquestionably his, from having opened the Mississippi into his ditch which gave it access all over, made every effort to stop it, but in vain and too late.

Thirdly, because all this work was authorized and done without Mr. Ceard's consent and without notice to him or any one near him.

For all the above reasons Mr. Ceard's land would not have been inundated nor have remained under water twenty-four hours before the river overflowed, and immediately after Mr. Dubreuil closed his

bayou, though the said Mr. Ceard had made dikes and ditches to the length of his enclosure which were sufficient to prevent direct inundation from the river.

There is no answer to be made by the above named gentlemen, but by empty words that we must pass over in silence for fear of annoying the Council.

From all these considerations Mr. Ceard concludes, in name of said grant, and from all on it, that it may please the Council to render judgment against Messrs. Beaulieu and Lafrenière and sentence them to obligation of indemnifying the Ste Reine grant for temporary loss of the inundated lands which are unfit for sowing with indigo and other crops of the country, also to works of indigotery and building projects, those begun and those ready to be set up, all of which loss should be to their cost, also the re-establishment of the same conditions, the water to drain by ordinary channels, the lands to be put in previous state in a fortnight, the aforesiad to be besides held to pay cost of grading and all other costs of proceedings.

New Orleans, this ninteenth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four.

Signed: CEARD."

Mr. Lafrenière answered Ceard's memorial by another in which he endeavored to prove that Mr. Ceard made an error in stating the cause of the overflow. He declared that the same bayou had been closed the year before during the season of high water and that Mr. Ceard had not complained. As to the ditch on the Lafrenière ground which opened into the river, had filled it in before the flood. Here Lafrenière and Ceard were at variance in their statements. Ceard's memorial asserted that Lafrenière had tried to close the ditch and avert the inundation; that he had done so too late and had worked in vain. Lafrenière held that Mr. Ceard could blame but himself; that the trouble was due to his own negligence and procrastination and that besides he had not tried to stop Mr. Dubreuil when he began the work which now met so much opposition.

The Council ordered Messrs. Dubreuil, Delery, Beaulieu and Lafrenière to build a coffer dike along the Ceard grant. This work was to be supervised by Broutin. An ordinance was passed compelling all concessioners to build a solid levee close to the stream and those neglecting to do so would to be obliged to pay damages which might follow. In this case the costs of court were paid by Chauvin frères. The Council demanded that the concessionaires should furnish negroes to work on the levees, to prevent the overflow of the river, and to do all that was necessary for the drainage of Ste Reine.

"Quota of negroes demanded from different plantations: Ste Reine grant, 35 negroes; Lafrenière, 45; de Beaulieu, 25; de Lery, 25; Dubreuil, 20; total 150 negroes.

Decree of Council March 21, 1724.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry and Fleurian."

(La. Hist. Society papers.)

This same Sieur Dubreuil in 1740, recalling his services, describes New Orleans during its first years as a town: "The beginning was dreadful. The river from its height spread itself over the entire ground and the water rose in the houses as high as two feet; which caused sickness and mortality." He asserts that at his own expense he built two-thirds of the levees and saved New Orleans from inundations, and made it as dry as if it had been built on dry ground."

He mentions a canal which would soon be finished and which was dug at his expense. He undertook this work to facilitate the transportation of timber for the construction of vessels, which enterprise he would like to establish in New Orleans, which he thought afforded great facilities and the best conditions to make ship building a great success.—(Notes from Margry.)

In this year, 1740, Bienville was again in the colony. After the suit against Dubreuil and the Chauvin Brothers, instituted and won by Ceard, Bienville had been recalled, but in 1733 returned to New Orleans as governor of Louisiana. He approved of Dubreuil's shipbuilding enterprise.

Dubreuil, when he speaks of having "saved" New Orleans, makes no allusion to the disastrous inundation in 1735, when the river rose higher than usual, the levees broke, the plantations were under water, and the condition such that Bienville wrote to France that they were so threatened by the flood that they saw the time coming when it would be necessary to abandon their houses and take refuge in boats.

The quota of negroes furnished by the above named planters for work on the levees is the first mentioned in the annals of New Orleans, after the enforced labor of the first year of its establishment, but it was so necessary to the welfare of the colonists to have this ordinance complied with, that it was from time to time repeated and enforced.

For instance in 1784 we find that "most of the inhabitants of the colony to maintain their estate and fulfill their obligations are obliged to employ a portion of their negroes to repair their levees, and keep the roads in good condition, which are often damaged by the continual rise of the river and the number of animals abandoned

on the levees and on the roads, from which may result considerable damage as much to the city as to the country, as has already been experienced. To avoid these prejudicial results it is necessary that during high water time it be prohibited to leave any animal roam on the levees or on the roads, under any pretext whatever, and that those who leave them at large to the detriment of property be held to pay the damages, at the value set by arbitration, and moreover, a fine of one piastre per animal, payable to the majordomo and applicable to the expense incurred for the pursuit of runaway negroes (negres marrons), etc."

This ordinance was to go into effect only after the harvest on account of the hardship entailed on the poorer inhabitants, who would at that time find it impossible "to change their ways.

Plantations Formed From Bienville Concession

We the undersigned, royal and special surveyors of the province of Louisiana, certify and declare that we have verified limits and laid out by line for and in presence of Jean Bienvenu and in presence of his neighbors, whose lands border on his a tract containing 8 arpents frontage on the river by 80 arpents in depth, which tract is situated one-fourth of a mile from the city of New Orleans, on the right bank of the Mississippi, adjoining on one side Mr. Pierre de St. Martin's land, and on the other that of the Chevalier (Knight) Louis de Macarty; the boundaries are parallel by two air lines, the first starting from the river bank, running in depth southward, 5 degrees towards east by our compass; the second also running southward in depth, 27° 30 east by our compass without considering variation of the compass. This verification was made in the month of October of the present year, after having verified, bounded and laid out by line 12 arpents frontage that the Sieur Bienvenu declared having sold to the Chevalier Louis de Macarty, which arpents frontage proceed from a concession of Mr. de Bienville, deceased, as also the adjoining lands, which fact is confirmed by the process verbal of survey of deceased Mr. François Ignace Broutin, engineer and general surveyor of this province at date of the twenty-fourth of December, of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-one, which process verbal declares to have been conceded to Mr. de Bienville, forty-six and a half arpents of land fronting the river by four thousand eight hundred fathoms in depth, the depth being trembling prairies and swamps; of which concession eight arpents frontage by forty in depth were sold to Mr. Alexandre Viel, physi-

cian; and twelve (12) facing the river by the same depth in favor of Mr. Nogues.

These two portions were surveyed and bounded by the same surveyor, Mr. Broutin. Mr. de Bienville also sold to a man named Saint Louis six arpents by forty in depth. St. Louis sold them to Vorsin, who later on sold them to Mr. Jean Bienvenu.

Mr. de Bienville sold the rest of his concession to Mr. Hugon and Hugon sold to Destrehan fourteen and a half arpents in two portions and finally he sold to Louis Ranzon in favor of Mr. Jean Bienvenu, who, in his turn sold twelve arpents to Chevalier Louis de Macarty by which means of ninety-four arpents acquired by Mr. Mr. Ranzon, Mr. Bienvenu reserves for himself (?) arpents, which joined to those acquired from St. Louis or Voisin form the (?) frontage which constitute at this date Mr. Bienvenu's plantation, as demonstrated on the plan by the black lines.

Mr. Voisin on the twelfth day of November, 1776, sold to Mr. Bienvenu six arpents frontage by forty in depth, with a second depth granted him March 8, 1763. It is then affirmed that Mr. de Bienville's concession covered four thousand eight hundred fathoms in depth. Mr. Voisin could not have obtained concession of a tract which was not vacant and which should be owned by the last purchaser of Mr. de Bienville's plantation after having given over the lots and sold by Messrs. de Bienville and Hugon, etc.

I, the undersigned, C. N. Bouchon, Chief State Surveyor, certify the above copy and plan annexed, true and in conformity to the original, deposited in the archives of New Orleans, this twentieth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

List of Officers Serving Under Bienville.

Captains:—De Gauvrit, came to Louisiana in 1716, aged 59 years; D'Hauterive, 1720, aged 52; De la Buissonniere, 1720, aged 45; De Benac, aged 52; De Berthel, 1732, aged 40; Lesueur, 1707, aged 44; De Blanc, 1719, aged 57; Benoist, 1717, aged 47; De Membrede, (served in France) captain in 1732, aged 32; De Macarty, 1732, aged 34; De Velles, 1732, aged 32; Chevalier d'Orgon, 1737, aged 42.

Lieutenants:—Duterpuis, came to Louisiana in 1717, aged 72; Maret Dupuis, 1717, aged 44; Bonille, 1717; Maret de la Tour, 1717, aged 40; Vandereck, 1731, aged 53; d'Herneuville, 1731, aged 29; de Grand-Pre, 1731, aged 46; Hazure, 1732, aged 29; Montcharnau, 1732, aged 43; Favrot, 1732, aged 33; Mongrand, 1737, aged.

Ensigns (*en pied*):—De Pontalba, 1732, aged 26; De la Houssaye, (Knight), 1731, aged 26; Populus de St. Protais, 1735, aged 28; Masan, 1736, aged 25; La Gautraie, 1737; Guerin de la Martilliere, aged 24; Soullegre, 1739; Chevalier de Macarty; Chevalier de Villiers; Du Passage; Gouville.

Ensigns (*second*):—Ducoder; Macdenot; Trudeau, 26 years; Porneuf, 23; Lusser, 17; Boissy, 47; Le Pelletier, 24; Voisin, 23; Le Grand; Du Plessy, 34; Rouville.

Officers on Half Pay

D'Arensbourg St. Ange, 39 years; Taillefer brothers; Lieutenant Lavergne; Lieutenant Monbereau; Lieutenant Dombourg.

Cadets:—Le Corbier, Des Essarts, La Perliere, Ballet, De Gruize, Montreuil, Marigny de Mandeville, La Bedhe, Masse, Sersigny, Trudeau.

This list is also given by Gayarre in his Histoire de la Louisiane, Vol. 1, with more details. It is dated June 15, 1740, and signed Bienville.

Indian Tribes Appearing in Bienville's Colonial Life.

The Biloxis, who were the first savages d'Iberville's expedition met on the gulf coast were of the Siouan nation and were then settled on Biloxi bay with the Pascagoulas and the Moctobis, each tribe living in its own village. They made wooden utensils and baskets and were gentle in character. They held their name and traced descent from the mother.

The French made two settlements here. Old and New Biloxi. At the Pascagoulas was the Chaumont grant, where the girls from the house of correction in Paris were sent.

The Bayougoulas lived on the west bank of the Mississippi. Margry says that the sacred fire burned perpetually in their temples. They warred with the Mongoulaches whom La Salle mentioned in his journal and who had been exterminated by them before d'Iberville discovered the delta of the Mississippi. They in turn were decimated by the Tonicas.

Iberville, when he ascended the Mississippi in 1699, here found capes made of Canadian blankets, Tonty's letter to Cavalier de la Salle and other relics of this expedition.

The Houmas near Red river had a large village on the east bank of the Mississippi, the limit of which was marked by a red stick (baton rouge). This tribe's settlement adjoined that of the

Bayougoulas and was the site of a massacre of the Tonicas in 1706. They are called Ojumas, Omoto, Humas, Homas by different historians.

There was a church at the Houmas settlement in 1700, built by the Jesuit Du Rhu, who had come with d'Iberville in 1699. This nation held in great reverence the memory of a female warrior.

The Colapissas settled on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain. Bienville was sent to their village by Sauvolle in his attempt to conciliate the savage tribes. At first the Colapissas resented the intrusion, taking Bienville and his companions for Englishmen, who three days previously had raided their village and carried away warriors, women and children. The Bayougoulas chief who accompanied the French explained that they had come to make a friendly treaty and were themselves enemies of the English. "All enemies of the English are our brothers," said the Colapissas, "you may depend on our fidelity." One of them kissed the gun which had killed two Englishmen and gave an exhibition of his skill with the bow and arrow. Bienville cemented their friendship with presents and continued on his mission of conciliation to the Mobilians.

These Mobilians were the same "Mauvilas" who so fiercely repulsed De Soto in 1540 and made such a terrible slaughter of the Spaniards. The French entered into a treaty with the Mobilians and even gave them and the Tohomes a tract of land, near Fort St. Louis, on which they settled. A large body of Alibamons, Cherokees and other savages fell upon the Mobilians some years later but Bienville defended and avenged them. The French found idols in this tribe and destroyed them to the stupefaction of the savages, who soon embraced Christianity. This tribe was said to trace their origin to the same source as the Choctaws.

The Alibamons had a fortified town at the time of De Soto's exploration. With their allies the Catawbas, Cherokees, etc., they gave Bienville much trouble. They attacked savages friendly to the French and burned their villages. They were fierce and stoical. Penicault relates that their children, of both sexes, were cruelly flogged once a year to harden them. They were hospitable but suspicious, and practiced polygamy. They had some ideas of agriculture, and were easily influenced by the English.

The Taensas were a kindred tribe to the Natchez. Their country was explored by La Salle and by Tonty a few years later. Davion and de Montigny had evangelized this country before d'Iberville settled Biloxi. At war with the Yazoos they fled to the Bayougoulas and treacherously killed most of them. In their temple burned a

continual fire and their religious rites so closely resembled those of the Natchez that they have often been confounded with them.

Tonty speaks of three eagles looking towards the rising sun as their divinity. They also adored the rising sun. It was in this tribe that Tonty exchanged glass beads for a pearl necklace worn by one of the chief's wives. Their temple was oval, 30 feet by 12 feet, and painted red. This tribe after several migrations settled on Taensas bayou. D'Iberville after Sauvolle's death mentions the Taensas as having three (300) hundred warriors.

The Tonicas or Tunicas, specially mentioned by La Harpe in 1719, were settled on Red river. He describes them as fierce warriors, rarely at home, given to the wandering life of hunters, depending on the buffalo for subsistence. The French for a time thought of utilizing buffalo hair (laine de boeuf) as an article of trade. The Taensas tents were made of hides and were carried with them on their hunting expeditions. Mézieres says that the buffalo supplied all their wants; that they used the brains for a kneading salve, the horns were made into spoons and cups, and it also furnished spades, bow-strings and all their riding equipment for their horses.

The Choctaws covered a large area of our Southern territory, extending over Mississippi, Alabama and a part of Georgia. They were allies of the French from the very first years of the colony and remained faithful to them to the end, though, for a time, there was a split in their nation, one party going over to the English. The famous chief Red Shoes, seduced by the glamor of English gold and titles, was the leader of this party, but under Bienville's tactics, he came back to the French and remained their friend till his death. They however played a double game after the Natchez massacre.

The Choctaws were always at war with the Creeks and Chickasaws, though their origin was supposedly the same, and their language identical. They took an active part in the disastrous war of the French against the Natchez and the Chickasaws and continued it for their own account when Bienville concluded a semblance of a treaty of peace with these nations. The Choctaws cultivated their ground and were fond of games calling for exercise of physical strength.

The Chickasaws, whose main settlement was at the spot where Memphis now stands, were a large confederacy. The settlement was composed of seven palisaded villages, without enumerating their conquests which their warlike spirit and strong bodily endurance helped them to extend. They were constantly at war with all their neighbors and when Beauharnais sent French and savage troops from Canada to help the French in Bienville's last disastrous campaign

they defeated the fierce Iroquois. Excited and led on by the English they lost no occasion of manifesting their hatred of the French, of protecting and abetting their enemies and finally forced them to conclude peace. True that it was demanded by the Chickasaws but they gave no guarantee that they would hold their peace. This war cost France "from January 1, 1737, to May 31, 1740, the sum of 1,088,383 francs."

The Illinois savages occupied the territory of upper Louisiana, which in 1717, by a decree from France, became a part of Louisiana, The Jesuit relations give intimate and interesting details of the mode of life, and the character of this nation. Accounts of missionaries and explorers differ regarding their strength. It is certain that they comprised a large confederation. The Kaskaskias, Peorias, Tamaroas, etc., belonged to the Illinois tribe. The celebrated chief Pontiac was murdered by an Illinois savage of Kaskaskia; this brought on them the vengeance of the Canadian tribes and threw them on the mercy and friendship of the French of the lower Mississippi. Studying the histories of the times it strikes one that they were not reliable; though apt at war, they gave up easily.

They were polygamous and the unfaithful wife or one under suspicion was disfigured by having her nose cut off. Gravier and Hennepin give many interesting details of this tribe, under different names, of their rain proof and wind protected cabins and their open towns.

The Natchez inhabited the country around Fort Rosalie, now Natchez. A fort was built there in 1716. They were a powerful tribe, strong in numbers, in industry, and held in invincible union by the unlimited power vested in their King, the Great Sun. Bienville called them to account in 1716 for thefts and murders committed on French traders. He imprisoned three of their chiefs: The Big Sun, the Little Sun and the Tattooed Serpent and held them until the heads of the murderers were brought to him. His firmness on this occasion was a lasting and salutary lesson to all the savage tribes and showed them that though Bienville was just and friendly his goodness never degenerated into weakness.

In 1722 the Natchez again brought trouble on themselves by murdering three other Frenchmen and by an attack on the Kolly plantation. The third war was due to the brutality and injustice of Chepart, the French commander at the Natchez post. It caused a vast conspiracy which ended in 1729, by the massacre of the French by the Natchez and the Yazoos, and the annihilation of the Natchez power.

The Yazoos belonged to the Coroas nation. The French had a trading post at the junction of the Yazoo and the Mississippi in 1720. In 1729 the Yazoos massacred the French at the Yazoo post, which was where Vicksburg now stands. Only one woman escaped to tell the tale.

The Yatasses inhabited west Louisiana and belonged to the Caddo nation. Bienville, when he occupied the fort on the Mississippi, made an alliance with this tribe and they were faithful to the French. After 1714 we find them near Natchitoches.

The Ouachitas were allies of the Taensas; they were not numerous and at the time of the Chickasaw war they joined the Nachitoches.

The Nachitoches gave their name to the post commanded by Juchereau de St. Denis. They successfully resisted the Natchez, the Yazoos and the Chickasaws and absorbed many of the adjoining weaker tribes who sought refuge with them. They helped the French to repulse the Natchez when they besieged Nachitoches. The Natchez were so badly beaten that they fled to the woods and took refuge with the Chickasaws.

The Sioux were a large confederacy of savage tribes. Their settlement began on the west bank of the Mississippi and they were divided into upper and lower Sioux. They are often in the annals of those first colonial years of Louisiana called Coroas. Dumont places the "Sioux" near the Natchez and speaks of them as trading with the French. They cultivated the ground and had been very warlike. They were drawn into the war which followed the Natchez massacre when Beauharnais sent the Canadian tribes to aid the French.

The Creeks, allies of the English, who harassed Bienville and his colonists, lived in Georgia and Alabama.

The Kaskaskias belonged to the Illinois nation and formed a village with the Peorias. They were great hunters and friends of the French.

The Kickapoos, called by Lesueur the geologist, "Quicapous," lived in houses; they cultivated the ground and worshipped dogs.

The Apalachees, are also mentioned in Bienville annals. A remnant of this tribe settled near Mobile.

The Chetimaches were punished by Bienville for the murder of the missionary St. Cosme, and three other Frenchmen. Not satisfied with this attack, Bienville excited the other savage tribes against them but at the time of the founding of New Orleans, these savages again became aggressive. Bienville made them "sing the Calumet" and exacted that they should establish themselves on the banks of the

Mississippi; the slaves taken from them at different times were not returned and this accounts for the Chetimaches slaves in New Orleans in the first years of its establishment.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.

Compiled from Gayarre's "Histoire de la Louisiane," "Journal de La Harpe," "Notes from Margry," "De Bouchel," "Essai historique de la Louisiane," par Gayarre; references, "Handbook of American Indians," by Hodge.

References.—Louisiana Historical Society MSS.: "Margry," "Correspondence de 1698?" "Journal de La Harpe," "Concessions," "Documents in 'black boxes,'" Gayarre (essai historique), Dernières Annés de la Louisiane (De Villiers du Terrage), Annals of the Ursulines of New Orleans, Annals of the Ursulines of Quebec, Lemoyne family, by Vincent and Jadouin, (Howard library).

Bill for Services Rendered to Mr. Pailhoux's Negroes in the Year 1726, Rated in French Pounds or Francs.

August 15—Bled a negro on the plantation.....5 pounds
" 16—Medicine to negress Louison composed of manna and rhubarb.....2 pounds
" 16—Bled the same negress at the plantation.....5 pounds
" 21—Reiterated, moreover gave to negress Louison astringent potion.....6 pounds
" 22—Visited the plantation.....3 pounds
" 23—Medicine for Pierre (negro).....4 pounds
" 30—Four doses of pills.....5 pounds
September 14—Went to the plantation to bleed Tanob, a negro.....5 pounds
" 15—Went to see Mongoullas negro.....3 pounds
" 17—Went to bleed him.....5 pounds
" 20—Bled at my house negro from said plantation 2 pounds
" 22—Gave Tanob a purge.....4 pounds
October 8—Went to see Salle, negro on the plantation....3 pounds
" 10—Bled a negro on the plantation.....3 pounds
" 10—Moreover saw Louison, negress on plantation..3 pounds
" 12—Gave six aperient powders to Tanob (negro)...6 pounds

"I certify having furnished the above bill to Lagoblage, this 10th March, 1726. Signed POUYADON de LATOUR, Surgeon.

"I have signed Pouyadon De Latour, surgeon, major of the city; acknowledge having received from Sieur de la Goblaye, the sum of fifty pounds on account for above bill. POUYADON de LATOUR.
New Orleans, March 13, 1726.

CONTEST FOR ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI 1763-1803.

By Clarence Wyatt Bispham,
of the Louisiana Historical Society.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF RELIGIOUS WARFARE

1. Introduction.
2. Bibliography.
3. The Question of Vicar-Generalship.
4. Episode of Father Beaubois, S. J. and Father Raphael de Luxemburg, Capuchin.
5. Ordinances of the Company of the Indies.
6. The War of Jesuit and Capuchin.
7. The Triple Struggle for the Vicar-Generalship.
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CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

The recital of a church quarrel during the short period of some forty years of *Spanish Domination* in New Orleans, 1763-1803, seems at first sight to be matter almost too insignificant for serious attention. Yet it is fraught with the conclusion of a momentous subject that shook North American civilization to its very foundations. It signifies the result of century long struggle between Jesuit and Franciscan for supremacy in the New World; a struggle between absolutism on the one hand and liberty on the other. It is a matter that has to do purely with the Roman Catholic Church. There is no hint of Protestantism in any shape or form, and yet it is Protestantism and Liberty that came forth as conquerors!

This is the philosophy of history; the fusing together of many well-known events, trodden in the path of many historians, and yet as far as the writer knows, never considered as a whole.

It seems passing strange that to understand the real meaning of the passages at arms between French and Spanish Capuchins and interference on the part of Jesuits, we must hark back to the days when the Society of Jesus was established!

Yet it is so! If the Church of Rome had been so wise and prudent as to allow only one religious Order to go to this new world, then,

it must be easily apparent to the observer who only looks on the surface of things that all would have been different.

One word concerning the motive that played King in the mind of the Founder of the Society of Jesus: Of books, Loyola knew little or nothing. His training had been in courts and camps. He was born and bred in the very bone and sinew of Romanism. His conversion meant a change of life and purpose—not of belief. He inquired not into the Doctrines of his Church: He simply enforced them. Prayer, penance and meditation were but aids to subdue the world to the Dominion of Dogma; to organize and discipline a mighty host controlled by a single mighty master hand. The Jesuit is never a dreamer, he is a man of action. Yet the problem Loyola faced was terrific in its intensity—to rob a man of free-will and yet to stimulate those energies which would make him the most efficient instrument of a mighty design. Look at Loyola's Book of Spiritual Exercises. See his famous *Lecture on Obedience.* The novice is required to reveal to this Confessor all his sins—nay, all those hidden tendencies and impulses. Each must report what he observes of the acts and thoughts and deeds of his brother workers and yet be splendidly able to go forward and make the power of his Society felt throughout the whole world. The wise and far-reaching Jesuit policy soon saw that New France might be a means of furthering their struggle and so they bent all their energies to conquer that enormous district for God and for the Society of Jesus.

And they spent their great strength in their mission to the Huron Indians. The fierce struggle between the Hurons and Iroquois is a part of history to which the world of today pays scant heed. But Parkman realized what it all meant when he wrote those momentous words: "The defeat of the Huron by the Iroquois spelt defeat for the Jesuits, for the hope of the Jesuits to conquer the West fell to the ground in ruins." For if the Iroquois had been tamed, the great West and South would have been ruled by Priests of the Society of Jesus. England and the Missionaries of the Church of England would have been confronted not by a defeated antagonist against whom the ban of expulsion had been levied, but by an athletic champion of the principles of Loyola, bent on carrying all before him.

The Iroquois Indians are responsible for the defeat of the Jesuits in New France, and the ruin of their hopes. For the Indians ruined the trade which is the life blood of a country and were the means of turning the eye of the Jesuits southwards by following the explorations of La Salle and Bienville. They found that a city was being

built ninety miles north of the Mississippi's mouth; a city which was destined to be a strategic point and they determined to be spiritual rulers in the city of New Orleans. But here they found opposition. Part of this is an old story, but part was the factor which finally led to their undoing.

If the Jesuits had determined to be supreme in the New France, so also had the Capuchins—the Great Minor Order of the Franciscans. From time to time we see them reaching out and trying to snatch away the power of the Jesuits.

The rivalry between Capuchin and Jesuit in Canada brought them ardent friends and fierce enemies. As La Salle was a friend of the Recollets (a branch of the Capuchins), so was he an enemy of the Jesuits. As Bienville was an enemy to the Capuchins, so was he an ardent friend of the Jesuits. And When La Salle and Bienville, the latter following the former after a brief interval, began to explore the regions of the Mississippi Valley, these hatreds and friendships were carried with them. Read "Sieur de Bienville," by Grace King, (1893). Read Parkman's description of La Salle and you will at once see that both men were pursued during their life time by violent and unrelenting enemies. The Jesuits were at the height of their power in Quebec, when La Salle began to explore the great Lakes and finally discovered the sources of the Mississippi river. La Salle's hatred towards them was almost an insanity. Who adroitly put obstacles in his way until a dozen times he nearly perished? Without doubt, the Jesuits! And who were the active enemies of Bienville and spread false reports about him as he worked to lay out the streets and the city of New Orleans? The Capuchins. And why? Both orders desired the Spiritual Supremacy of the Mississippi Valley. The quarrel in 1773 in New Orleans was only the end of the contention in Quebec in 1659.

Before that date, the Jesuit held full sway. Quebec in those days was half military, half monastic. The Jesuits watched and guarded all. Everywhere the colonist was under his rule. Even to the best of laymen this state grew to be intolerable. "Relations des Jesuits," give full and authentic accounts of the efforts of the Society to spread the Christian Religion in Quebec. In spite of our admiration for the great work done by them we must sympathize with the deputies of Canadians who were sent over secretly (1640) to France as Le Clerc says: "Pour leur representer la Gehenne ou estoient les consciences de la Colonie de se voir gouverné par les mêmes personnes pour le spirituel et pour le temporal." (1-476). Cardinal Richelieu heard their complaint. How far he was touched with

pity we do not know. No documents exist. Only this is certain: An attempt was made to introduce the Order of Capuchins, who might be able to offset the influence of the Society of the Jesuits.

Then began the struggle between the Orders started by the King of France and the Pope himself, as we shall see in the chapter called "The Vicar-Generalship." This opposition of more than an hundred years in length was an old story, but the part that was new and strange could not be reckoned with even by so powerful a Society as the Jesuits. This was the very character and trait of the people they desired to govern. New Orleans, composed for the part of French and then Spanish with a little English and American blood began to be a people with a sense of freedom. They were not prepared even as good Roman Catholics to sit complaisant under a rigor of any Ecclesiastical Regime. They were and still are to a great degree a people fused together from different Latin nations. The two priests whose memories are still held in grateful memory are Father Dagobert and Father Antonio, who gained the love of the people by their broad-guage conduct of affairs. They would never tolerate the iron hand under the velvet glove. And that to my mind is the chief reason why the Jesuit was finally defeated, and why a French Capuchin triumphed over a Spanish Capuchin, even during the Spanish Domination.

Enough has been said to prove to the impartial student that this contention for spiritual jurisdiction is much more important than could possibly be exhausted in the limits of an essay. A glance at the Bibliography will convince any student of this statement. The writer pleads an impartiality in discussing these questions. In the documents referred to, some of which the writer has translated, there is a tremendous number of questions almost untouched by historians. This investigation is rendered the more difficult by the fact that Gayarre, Phelps, Fortier and Shea, to say nothing of the Catholic Encyclopedia, (1910) have contradicted one another many times.

To arrive at the truth, reference must be made to the Original Documents contained in Spanish, French and Canadian Archives, and more thorough reference to the wealth of material in the Historical Society of Lousiana. Material, some of it never translated, has been most courteously put at my disposal by the President of the Louisiana Historical Society. And my most sincere thanks are given to Mr. William Beer, Howard Library, whose learning and historical sense are deep and cover a wide area of sound knowledge.

Of one thing we can be certain: The Roman Church has allowed a quarrel of over a hundred years to endure but has tried to keep her disputes behind closed doors and to minimize them as much as possible. This is greatly to her credit.

The object of this study is not to uncover faults and failures of human nature, but to undertake for the sake of the truth investigations almost unnoticed.

CHAPTER II.

Bibliography.

In the Carnegie Publications, there is a Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives. One of the first actions of the Congregation called the Propaganda was to divide the world into provinces and direct one of the Nuncios to act as its representatives in each province.

Over the Bishop of Quebec, its control was most direct, for after a struggle with the French Government, the See of Quebec was attached directly to the See of Rouen. Here follows a list of Italian documents germane to the subject of ecclesiastical supremacy between Capuchin and Jesuit.

1677. August 2. F. 183; No. 25. Request from the Capuchin of the Province of Normandy to be allowed to exercise certain faculty during the voyage to the French islands of America.

1689. F. F. 49-50. Custodian of the Capuchins relates scandals, relaxation of customs.

1693. June 22. No. 16. Request of a Capuchin that orders be given that Missionaries of one order, shall not involve themselves, with Missionaries of another order.

1703. September 24. F. F. 211-212; No. 7. French Jesuits petition that orders be given to the Bishop of Quebec to assign them a district in North America, called Mississippi, because they are disturbed by the Missionaries of Foreign Missions.

1722. April 13. F. 138; No. 25. The Procurator General of the Capuchins requests that the Provincial of the Province of Champagne be declared Prefect of the Islands of Louisiana.

1759. July 9. F. 229; No. 13. Dispute between Superior of the Jesuits, constituted Vicar-General by the Bishop of Quebec, and the Capuchins.

1778. September. F. 255; Page 184. (Latin). The Capuchin Mission in New Orleans.

1662. June 10. F. 6. Memorial on the Capuchin Missions: Province of Paris.
1663. August 24. F. F. 35-36. On the conflict of jurisdiction between the Vicar-Apostolic and the Abbe Queylus.(Canadian Archives).
1698. July 14. Confirmation by Bishop S. Vallier of the permission given to the Seminary of Quebec to have exclusively the Mission to the Tamaroas. C. IIIV.
1757. April 29. To Abbe Charles Baudoin, S. J. Letter to him as Vicar-General of Louisiana. C. 224 R.
1768. Letters of Bishop Briand to Father Meurin—Capuchins and Ursulines in New Orleans. (Page 8).
1769. April 26. To Father Meurin: Capuchins and Quebec jurisdiction in New Orleans.
1777. April 29. To Father Meurin: His authority as Vicar-General; jurisdiction in New Orleans.
1776. May 23. Jurisdiction contested in Spanish territory: To Bishop Briand.—(Archives des Colonies.)

Documents in Spanish Archives Relating to History of the United States of Which Transcripts Are in American Libraries.

2038. Unzaga to Bishop of Havana. Ecclesiastical Condition of Louisiana. L. H. S. Mississippi Valley-3.
2039. Cirilio, to Bishop of Havana. L. H. S. Mississippi Valley—Page 4.
2045. Ditto. Mississippi Valley—Page 5.
2046. Father Dagobert to Bishop of Havana. L. H. S. Mississippi Valley—Page 6.
2045. Is cited by Gayarre 73-83 III.
2038. Is cited by Gayarre 66-71 III.
2048. Cirilio to Bishop of Havana.
2039. Is cited by Gayarre III-57-66.
2048. Is cited by Gayarre I-7-8.
2049. Is cited by Gayarre III-84-85.

CHAPTER III.

The Question of the Vicar-Generalship.

In order to understand the real significance of the struggle between the Religious Orders we must realize thoroughly the difference between the Vicar-General and the Vicariate Apostolic.

What is a Vicar-General? The highest official in a Diocese after the Ordinary. He is a cleric really exercising the Episcopal jurisdiction in the name of the Bishop, so that his acts are reputed the acts of the Bishop himself.

The office of Vicar-General is unique and therefore there should not be several of them in one Diocese. Separate Vicar-Generals may be appointed for the faithful of different languages.

The power of the Vicar-General extends to all duties of ordinary Episcopal jurisdiction. The tribunal of the Vicar-General is one with the Bishop's and there can be no appeal from the one to the other.

This office rests not only on powers committed by the Holy Father but also by common law.

What is meant by Vicariate-Apostolic? During the last few centuries, it has been the practice of the Holy See to govern either through Prefects Apostolic or Vicars Apostolic—the territories which are thus governed are called Vicariates Apostolic. This has been done by the Holy See where, owing to local circumstances, such as the Church and custom of the people or from the hostility of central powers it is doubtful whether an Episcopal See could be permanently established.

This excursus into definition of terms is valuable when we inquire into the beginnings of the struggle for Ecclesiastical Supremacy.

The Church in Canada received new life and vigor by the formation of the Colony into a Vicariate Apostolic. Laval was made Vicar-Apostolic by the Holy See.

At once France protested. Why? Why should the Archbishop of Rouen oppose this action? Read between the lines: In the Diocese of the Archbishop of Rouen lay the home and strength of the French Capuchins, a minor order of St. Francis. If Canada or the Diocese of Quebec was to be made into a Vicariate Apostolic that put the Jesuits, already on the field, into a position almost irresistible as far as New France was concerned.

But the protest of Rouen was without avail: The Pope overruled the protest. A Bull was issued declaring Laval Vicar-Apostolic but indirectly confirming all acts of the Archbishop of Rouen! Was this strange and ambiguous language, a sop to the Archbishop and the Capuchins? Was it in effect something like this? We do not wish to offend you but nevertheless we intend to have our own way! For on the heels of this pronouncement Laval was consecrated in the

Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain, outside the Diocese of any Bishop, as Vicar-Apostolic with authority directly from the Pope.

The struggle however, for supremacy had just begun: The letters patent of the King of France who without doubt entered the contest as the ally of the Archbishop of Rouen show a desire to make the future Diocese of Canada part of France and that Laval should rank simply as a Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Rouen. But the Pope as we have seen would not have it that way! His authority was to come directly from the Holy See. Disregarding the warnings of the French Parliament Laval sailed for the New World and reached Quebec in 1659. Laval's authority was recognized by all the clergy in Canada save one who had received a new appointment from the Archbishop of Rouen as Vicar-General and who attempted to question the authority of the new Vicar-Apostolic. Here we have the triumph of the Vicar-Apostolic. But what all historians neglect to notice is a fact to be read between the lines, so weighty and serious that it is almost incredible that it has been omitted.

John G. Shea tells these facts and he is a member of the Society of Jesus.* Why should the Archbishop of Rouen dare to clothe any one with the authority of a Vicar-General after the Pope had decided against him and his order? The answer is very obvious:

Despite the authority of the Holy See the Capuchins were bound to take a part in the Ecclesiastical Struggle for Supremacy in Canada.

But other forces were at work which were destined to take away this triumph for the Jesuits. After twenty years, 1681, the world was amazed by the discoveries and explorations of La Salle.

We have nothing to do with his journeys except to point out two well-known facts: His hatred of the Jesuits amounted almost to insanity; and again, owing to this state of mind, remember that it was a Recollet and not a Jesuit accompanied La Salle when the latter took "prise de possession" of very little less than the whole of the Southern portion of the North American Continent.

Instead of being content with their own enormous territory to work in, the Jesuits in their "Relations" promptly quote the Recollet Father, Father Meubre as saying: "All we have done has been to see the state of these nations and to open the way to the Gospel and to missions, having baptised only two infants whom I saw at the point of death."

The Recollets however, regarded the Mississippi Valley as a field assigned to them, and the whole influence of Frontenac, La Salle's ardent friend, was with them and against the Jesuits. So the

*See article John G. Shea in Catholic Encyclopedia.

French Government asked the Holy See to establish a Vicariate Apostolic over the Mississippi Valley. This took place about the year 1685. Again we pause to read between the lines. Quebec had apparently been lost for the time being to the Capuchins and the Archbishop of Rouen.

As the Recollets were a part of the Capuchins, did the Archbishop wish to imitate the establishment of Laval?

However that may be, the Propoganda, thinking all was well, granted their request. But meanwhile Laval was no longer Vicar-Apostolic of Quebec for St. Vallier had newly been made Bishop of Quebec. As soon as he heard that the Mississippi Valley (a part of his enormous diocese) had been made into a Vicariate-Apostolic without his consent or approval he naturally protested strongly. He had already appointed Father Gravier, S. J., as Vicar-General among the Tamaroas Indians, who were a branch of the Illinois Indians, regarded geographically as a most important and strategic point opening out as it did into the whole west and unknown country —a gateway in fact between the civilization of Quebec and savagery.

St. Vallier in his complaint stated that he claimed the Mississippi Valley through the discoveries of Marquette and Joliet. Marquette was a Priest in his Diocese and Joliet a pupil in his Seminary. Here then was an establishment of Vicar-Apostolic and Vicar-General over practically the same country.

What was to be done? Louis XIV, King of France, referred the whole matter to three Commissionaries and on their report he asked the Holy See to revoke the establishment of the Vicariate-Apostolic. The revocation of the Vicariate-Apostolic followed.

But more trouble was to come! We have pointed out that Gravier, Vicar-General of Quebec, had been appointed to work among the Tamaroas. And onw St. Vallier was in power also over these Indians, whose territory was a part of his Diocese as Bishop. This fact made no difference in the opinion of the Jesuits who at once protested to St. Vallier that this was their own territory. But the Seminary Priests from Quebec nevertheless arrived and began their work, permission for which had been given by the Bishop of Quebec, 1698.

Father Gravier, the Vicar-General, was thus deprived of that part of his work and the reason was easy to see: in 1703 Mobile was erected into a separate parish of which the District of Tamaroas became a part and the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris agreed to supply the clergy. Gravier, although Vicar-General, was a Jesuit and was not to be allowed into Mobile. Not that they had

not done good work holding the head of the Mississippi, they had asked from the Bishop of Quebec exclusive spiritual control of the district which hereafter was to be known as the Valley of the Mississippi, including the begginning of the city Bienville laid out and called New Orleans. Oil and water cannot mix.

But if the Jesuits were officially defeated, practically they still conquered. Notwithstanding the decision of St. Vallier against them, the Fathers of the Foreign Mission found the situation so unpleasant that in 1700 they went back to Paris by way of New York.

I have tried by the recital of these facts and by a grouping of them together to set forth what is between the lines of these shiftings for position.

Capuchin and Jesuit used the authority of Vicar-General and Vicar-Apostolic as means to an end.

Each wanted supreme Ecclesiastical authority.

The means each used to gain this authority were carefully planned. Sometimes one and then the other conquered. For nearly one hundred years this struggle continued. We shall notice the next development.

CHAPTER IV.

Episode of Father Beaubois, S. J., Vicar-General of Louisiana, and Father Raphael de Luxemburg, also Vicar-General of Louisiana.

In 1872 in Paris there were printed one hundred copies of the book of Monograph called "Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen a la Nouvelle Orleans avec un Introduction et des notes par Gabriel Gravier." It contains the account of the voyage and settlement of the nuns in New Orleans. With the work of these godly sisters we are not concerned. It is Gravier's introduction and notes that are of special interest to our subject. After commenting upon the work of Bienville, Gravier says:

"Powers of another sort worked in Louisiana not only to establish the French authority but the Christian Religion. They were the Jesuits. At this time the Bishop of Quebec was Suffragan to the Archbishop of Rouen. Since the creation of this Suffragan, Canada was made part of the Diocese of Rouen. This being proved establishes the importance of the Norman element in the discovery and colonization of New France.—April 22, 1657, Francis II. named Gabriel de Queylus Vicar-General of New France. The same day he gave the right to preach to Gabriel de Tubieres and two others (see

Archives de Rouen, Reg. des Collations du 26 Mars, 1657, au Mars, 1660.

Gabriel de Tubieres seems to have been the Superior of the Jesuits for in the Archives of Rouen there is an "acte" dated Paris, Mars 30, 1658. "Acte pour terminer les differences entre l'Abbe de Queylus, V. G., et le Ven. Superior des Jesuits de la Maison de Quebec tous les deux," both of them Vicar-General in the part of our Diocese called New France. Both these reverend gentlemen were appointed. This nomination and revocation was done by the Archbishop of Rouen and without any apparent consultation with the Bishop of Quebec.

To continue the introduction: "In 1722 the Bishop of Quebec in accord with the Company of the Indies divided Louisiana into three spiritual jurisdictions: The first part would seem to comprehend all the country that one finds in seeing the River St. Louis from the sea, up to the altitude of the entrance of the River Wabash into the River St. Louis and the whole country East of this River in the said space of country.

The Churches and Missions of this jurisdiction shall be placed under the Capuchins; their Superior always to be Vicar-General from the Bishop of Quebec in this department and to live in New Orleans.

The second jurisdiction is to extend over all the country which is found in the height of the Province from the River of the Wabash (the Ohio) and must belong to the control of the Jesuits whose Superior shall live in the District of the Illinois and is to be Vicar-General of that District.

The third jurisdiction should extend over all the country which is found on the East of the River from the sea up to the Wabash, and is given to the Carmelites whose Superior is also to be Vicar-General and live in the Mobile District. "In the same year, 1722, the Capuchins took possession of the District. The Jesuits had for a long time been established in theirs.

The Carmelites were at Mobile but the Bishop of Quebec was displeased at their conduct and joined the jurisdiction to that of the Capuchins by an ordinance, *December 19, 1722.* So the Carmelites returned to France.

In *December, 1723,* the Company judged that the Capuchins were not able to look after the jurisdiction of all the Churches and Missions in so vast a territory as had been allotted to them and decreased their jurisdiction up to and including Natchez, allowing them all the country through which the river flows as much to the

East as to the West, and gave the remainder to the Jesuits, who in this department had for their helpers two Priests of Foreign Missions.

This readjustment offended the Capuchins. They demanded surety for that which remained to them and what was left comprised a very large stretch of country containing the largest number of people. The Company to satisfy them made an Ordinance, *June 27, 1725*, affecting all the Churches and Missions established or which might be established in the district last set aside for the Capuchins, that they would be served by no other religious Order unless by Priests and that only after their consent. And this edict which was indeed their sole desire was confirmed by a brevet from the King, July 25, 1725.

But the Capuchins had more zeal than knowledge of the world. The Precinct of Champagne is small and sterile compared to Louisiana. The Company there, seeing they did not give enough religious instruction to fill the Ecclesiastical post of their district and knowing of others who were little fitted to tend the missions at the dwelling places of the savages, judged that it would be absolutely necessary to establish a new division which would meet the character and particular virtue of the two orders. In consequence, the Company made a treaty, *February 20, 1726*, with the Jesuit Fathers by which they engaged themselves to furnish missionaries, not only in the territory of their districts but also with the savages where it would be of interest not only to the Church but the better to establish them in that stretch of country formerly given to the Capuchins. The Company took it upon itself the duty of giving all the French Missions to the Capuchins and placed the savages under the care of the Jesuits with the approval of the Bishop of Quebec who was pleased with this new division. It seemed necessary to the Superior of the Jesuit Mission to build a hospital in New Orleans. The Company only gave this hospital to the Superior of the Jesuits on condition that they would not perform any ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Capuchins. In December, *1726*, a number of Jesuits left France—a number necessary to fill up the Missions they had been given the right to establish. Their arrival in New Orleans and the publication of their treaty, caused much jealousy among the Capuchins. And if they had listened to reason, all would have been well, if the Rev. Fr. P. Beaubois, Superior of the Jesuits, had been punctual in keeping his engagements. (The word punctual is a literal rendering of the French.) In reading over the articles of the treaty with the Company, there appeared this direct condition:

That no Ecclesiastical functions of any kind should be performed at New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchins. ("Qu'il ne feroit a la Nouvelle Orleans aucune fonction Ecclesiastique sans le consentment des Capucins.") He (Beaubois) had signed with his superiors the same treaty bearing the same conditions. He had promised M. de Mornai, then Coadjutor and nôw Bishop of Quebec that he would faithfully abide by this treaty. He had also written to Père Raphael, Superior of the Capuchins, that he would go to New Orleans only to live his peculiar and simple life.

And in addition, during all this time that he would go to Quebec at the command of the Bishop to have himself given (pour se faire accorder) the authority of Vicar-General, the same as for New Orleans. Having arrived in this city, (New Orleans) with the answer of the Bishop which was nothing more than a simple agreement to his demands, he pretended that this agreement was an absolute order, a command from his master. He deposed that the letter of the Prelate was at the Public Registry (sur ce pied la au greffe public la letter du prelat.) He bore himself proudly as a Grand Vicar in the exercise of his duties. He made himself Superior of the Community of the Ursulines and clothed himself with full authority. The Company was the scapegoat of all this quarrel and the resultant scandals. And these are of such weight that the Superiors of Père de Beaubois have set them forth and have revoked every settlement after having read them. This revocation was the more necessary inasmuch as the Capuchins demanded of the Company the return of Father Beaubois, and because M. de la Chaise, with whom he had been exceedingly angry, could not endure more, and they also added, that they, the Capuchins, would all return to France if the Père de Dubois should be recognized. M. de Mornai, to whom the Bishop of Quebec had given full authority in Louisiana following the last letters of M. de la Chaise and those of Raphael, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, had at last hopes of an understanding between the two Orders, M. Le Petit (who succeeded de Beaubois) being the kind of a person whose character was very moderate and circumspect." Here follows a list of the Missionaries, both Capuchins and Jesuits, showing exactly where each worked. With the exception of the Jesuit, M. Le Petit, who lived in New Orleans, the other ten Jesuits worked among the Indians.

"Archives du Min. de la Mar."

This signature is at the end of the "Memoire."

Before we pass to an examination of the criticism showered

upon this "Memoire," I ask you to notice a passage in Shea, "The Church in the Colonies." Page 543:

"With missions among the Illinois at the mouth of the Mississippi, the Jesuits solicited from Bishop St. Vallier the *exclusive direction* of the *French posts* in Louisiana. They asked that the Superior of the Mission should always be appointed Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec."

You will notice that this "solicitation" was in direct contradiction to the agreement which the "Memoire" says was made between Capuchins, Jesuits, and the Company of the Indies. This "solicitation" was made about the year *1700*. Shea gives no date. Now let us quote a letter from the Minister of the Marine to the Bishop of Quebec, dated Versailles, June 17, 1703.

"Sir: The Jesuit Fathers and the Superiors of the Foreign Missions have spoken to you separately of the Missions of the Mississippi. The Fathers wishing to avaid any unpleasantries with the Missionaries have demanded that it would be best (plus) for his Majesty to assign them the right of travelling alone and without the rivalry of others.

They said with some sort of reason on their side that their differences (demas lez) scandalized the faithful and perhaps kept back the conversion of the savages, and that it would be of service to God and to the King to take away all obstacles that can prevent them from embracing the Christian Faith; and since they, the Jesuits, are the first who have settled on the Mississippi, and were responsible for the mission *which was started at Mobile*, they demanded that this part of the country would be assigned to them with such restrictions as would be pleasing to his Majesty. They pretended that it would be most agreeable to your wish to take for your Vicar-General of this district the Superior whom they should establish there. On their side, the Priests of the Foreign Missions, represented that they themselves already had a number of Missions, and that it would be necessary that they should have an establishment in the place where they would have the chief post of authority. This is only the right of those who are strong; who know that the Jesuits cannot reside without having thier own Spiritual Jurisdiction.

The King has not wished to decide anything before consulting you. His Majesty desires that you examine with care all these points, and after having reflected seriously, to favor that side which you think ought to do, for the geatest glory of God and good of His service. I pray you try to make a good answer as quickly as you can, (le plutot que vous pourrez) so that in the statement you give to

his Majesty, the necessary orders can be given to put the affairs of this colony on a sound foundation, for which, I am persuaded, that you would wish to give me the best of advice, inasmuch as it all depends on you; the neighborhood of the English, always an enemy to the Catholic religion of his Majesty, is a reason strong enough to induce you to make plans strong enough to put this Colony on a sound footing and to impress them that they must put to one side their differences on account of the great number of savages who inhabit that country." This seems to relate to the newly directed district of Mobile, and seems to show that the Jesuits, not content with trying to obtain a footing in New Orleans, were also inten upont the Supremacy in that district which the Bishop had given to the Seminary at Quebec. *Shea* does not give any letter of the Bishop in answer to the Minister of the Marine. He says that the Bishop declined to give any religious order the complete and exclusive direction of Louisiana, deeming it better to assign from time to time districts to religious or secular Priests, all to be subject to a Vicar-General named by the Bishop of Quebec until the state of the Church would warrant the establishment of a See in New Orleans. (The proof of this statement can be found in the Archives de Quebec in the Bishop's Memoires upon the Missions of the Mississippi.)

The statements of the "Memoire" have not been allowed to pass without challenge. The "Memoire," Shea asserts, (Page 567) is unsigned and contains evident errors, so that its authority cannot be considered great. No ordinance of Bishop St. Vallier in this matter exists at Quebec, and the whole affair seems to have been arranged by Père de Mornay. And yet, the History of events in Louisiana which all Historians confirm, Shea among them, seems to regard this missing Ordinance to which the "Memoire" refers as *an undoubted fact!*

The Jesuits appealed from the decision to the King and in June, *1701*, a Commission of three Bishops decided that Quebec had jurisdiction over the Tamaroas Indians and therefore settled the Jesuit question as to their spiritual jurisdiction over Louisiana.

To continue the question of the "Memoire:" We find that in August, *1717*, the Regent Duke of Orleans in the name of Louis XV. issued letters patent establishing a joint stock company called the Company of the West, to which Louisiana was transferred. That the trouble between Jesuit and Capuchins was real, and not a matter to be lightly regarded, as Marie Louise Points says in her article in the Catholic Encyclopedia, "New Orleans," we point to a Note in Pierre Margry: Memoires and Documents, Tome IV.-Pages 634-635.

"Note taken from the manuscript of P. Leonard de Saint Catherine de Sienne." "In the month of *May, 1702,* M. de Beaucharois, Intendent of Canada, in the place of M. de Champagne, who came to take this office at Havre de Grace, has worked to reconcile the Jesuits with St. Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, who is in Paris. He has given a dinner to both parties, the better to cement this reconciliation, and some days afterward, the Jesuits in their dwelling house at Gentilly entertained the Bishop of Quebec. He did not wish them to send a Mission to the *newly discovered part of the Mississippi River.*"

This extract is a strong indirect testimony of the real position taken by the Bishop of Quebec.

Evidently, he had no idea of allowing the Jesuits to work in New Orleans.

Was the declaration of the third jurisdiction as narrated in the "Memoire" a fabrication? Let us examine the testimony of what we call secondary authorities, since the original Ordinance of the India Company appears to be lacking.

Phelps in his history of Louisiana (1904) says: "It was also necessary to re-establish Ecclesiastical relations to avoid disputes among the rival orders of Missionaries. The first division comprises the Valley of the Mississippi from the Gulf of the Ohio, comprising the territory west of the River and was allotted to the Capuchins whose superior was to reside in New Orleans.

The second division, including the territory north of the Ohio, was given to the Jesuits, whose head was among the Illinois.

The third division, South of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, was under the care of the Carmelites, whose Superior was to reside in Mobile.

The Church of Louisiana was still under the general supervision of Canada and each of the Superiors of the three orders was a Grand-Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec."

If by Grand-Vicar Mr. Phelps means Vicar-General, his statement corresponds to the "Memoire," but he gives no authority for this statement. Is this only a copy? Again, Fortier in his history of Louisiana, (Vol. I, 108 P.) says:

"Father de Baubois S. J. pretended to have obtained from the Bishop of Quebec the authority of Grand Vicar for New Orleans and acted as such, in spite of the remonstrances of the Capuchin Superior, Raphael." No authority is given.

But Gayarre (Vol. III.-49) seems to take the other side and says the Capuchins pretended they had a contract with the Company of India giving them exclusive jurisdiction in New Orleans, and were

therefore opposed to any exercise of spiritual authority by the Jesuits. Again, no authority is given.

In volume II.-262 of the Histoire de la Louisianne, par Me. le Page du Pratz, Paris, 1768, occurs the following comment in the description of New Orleans in its first beginnings: "La Place d'Armes est au milieu de la partie de la ville qui fait face au fleuve; dans le milieu du fond de cette place est l'Eglise de la Paroisse sous l'invocation de S. Louis disservie par les R. R. P. P. Capucins. Leur Maison est au côté gauche de l'Eglise." Facing page 262 there is a plot of this newly founded city and the house of the Capuchins is on the Place d'Armes, number 3. While that of the Ursulines and Hospital is Number 11. There is no "logement pour les Jesuits."

The deduction is significant. No Jesuit was living in New Orleans before Beaubois came. And the Capuchins were living there and had a house assigned them. The writer dislikes to find discrepancies and to make the same author seem to contradict himself, but he feels bound to call attention to what Gayarre says, Volume II.-79.

"1717. The Capuchins of the Province of Champagne secured exclusive power over lower Louisiana. 1726, the Jesuits also obtained permission but in order to avoid conflict they had been confined to a remote region in upper Louisiana, but they had obtained permission that the Jesuit Superior might reside in New Orleans, on condition he should not discharge any Ecclesiastical function save with the consent of the Capuchin Superior. The well known extraordinary dexterity of the Jesuits turned this to good purpose. So they began by obtaining from the Bishop of Quebec a commission of Grand-Vicar within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Capuchins when they had no right to interference because of the contract between the Capuchins and the India Company, in 1717."

Here is a statement in direct agreement with the "Memoire," Why should Gayarre use the word 'pretended' in Volume III? Did he change his mind?

Then came the Ursulines, and with them Father de Beaubois S. J., who asked the Superior Council, *1729*, to record the nomination of himself, made by St. Vallier as Vicar-General. This, says Gayarre, the Superior Council properly refused to record. Nevertheless, the Jesuits took on the functions of the Capuchins who were bewildered and lacked the ability to cope with these rivals.

Shea completely contradicts the "Memoire" when he says: "The gentlemen of the Company of the Indies by the contract which they made with Rev. Father Beaubois, Vicar-General of Monsieur

the Bishop of Quebec and Superior-General of the Louisiana Missions.' But the Bishop raised a host of objections to their coming and on one occasion, say the Jesuits, they were obliged to appeal to his Eminence,* Cardinal Fleury, Minister of State. Has there not been registered here a curious error? Has not Beaubois been inserted in place of Baudoin S. J. who was made Vicar-General of Louisiana in late years by Bishop Pontbriand?

It would seem so.

This above contradiction is the only one that seems to upset the words of the "Memoire."

Bossu, "Nouveaux aux Indes Occidentales," *Part I-28*, says:

"The Capuchins are the first monks who came to New Orleans in *1723* as Missionaries. The Superior is Curé of the Parish. These good religious only occupy themselves with affairs relative to their own ministry. The Jesuits after two years are also established in Louisiana. 'Ces fins politiques,' have found the secret of entering the richest dwelling place of the Colony which their intrigues have allowed them to obtain."

It is Shea who in a few words highly significant says:

"While the Jesuits whose Superior, Father de Beaubois, had been reaclled, awaited the arrival of the new Superior, Father le Petit."

This again confirms the "Memoire."

And still further, he says that he (Beaubois, 1733) was recalled for what reason no one knows:

And again, we quote the words of Gayarre (Vol. I.-380):

"The Superior of the Company of the Louisiana Jesuits was to reside in New Orleans but could not exercise therein any Ecclesiastical function *without the permission of the Superior of the Capuchins* under whose spiritual jurisdiction New Orleans happened to be placed."

Without doubt this dispute, concerning which the barest outline has been given, did not tend to the upbuilding of the Church. "Vice increased unchecked."

It is more than probable that any one who reads this contradiction of authorities will be perplexed. The writer ventures to make this summary:

The whole controversy ought to be settled by an appeal to the Edict drawn by the India Company in 1722.

Careful search among the Documents in French and Canadian Archives has failed to produce this Edict.

We therefore only have the "Memoire" which refers to the Edict and which is to be found in the Archives of the Minister of Marine.

We have noticed Shea's objections and that Gayarre has also used the word "pretended."

On the other hand all the documents and secondary authorities that I have examined refer to the three Divisions of spiritual jurisdiction as a settled fact. Then the dispute is narrowed to this question: Raphael de Luxemburg was not only Superior of the Capuchins in New Orleans, but Vicar-General of Louisiana at the same time that Father Beaubois appeared claiming to have been appointed Vicar-General of the same district by the Bishop of Quebec. But there is no Edict in the Archives of Quebec which sets forth that St. Vallier did this. How could he? He had appointed De Mornay Vicar-General of all Louisiana, *April 22, 1714.* When the India Company applied to him for Priests he sent them Capuchins to take charge of the new district. As we have seen (says Shea) by the arrangement of the trading company, the highly educated Jesuits were confined to the Indian field and were not allowed to exercise their ministry among the settlers of Louisiana who were assigned to a less cultured body, (the Capuchins.)

St. Vallier would never have allowed De Mornay to put one man in the field and then himself put another man of an Order repugnant to him in the same field.

The strong probablility is that Beaubois either mistook his orders, or else deliberately forged them. At all events there is no doubt that he was expelled and Le Petit became the Superior.

This dispute therefore was settled for the time being when Raphael was allowed to exercise his ministry undisturbed—a complete triumph for the Capuchins.

In justice to the Jesuits, it ought to be stated that Beaubois was responsible under St. Vallier for bringing the Ursulines to New Orleans. "The Rev. Jesuit Father, animated with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls came from New Orleans to France to obtain an establishment of his order, and of the Ursuline nuns for the education of youth. God blessed his good intentions by enabling him to succeed completely in his undertaking, notwithstanding a host of crosses and opposition which he had to suffer at the hands of those who were most important to his work. But after a year's exertion by the Reverend Father and the nuns; after a thousand difficulties raised by the Lord Bishops (St. Vallier and De Mornay) who after having first approved the project subsequently raised many

objections when it came to giving obediences to the religious of the Diocese.

On one occasion, they were obliged to appeal to his Eminence, Cardinal Fleury, Secretary of State. The "Compagnie des Indes," thinking that the most solid foundation for the Colony of Louisiana is what tends to advance the glory of God and the edification of the people, such as the establishment of the Reverend Capuchin and Jesuit Fathers, etc."

What did Beaubois really do? He must have known that St. Vallier would never grant him a Vicar-Generalship over the same district as Raphael de Luxemburg held. And he must also have known that if De Mornay was engineering the whole affair (as the assertion is made) he never would have had the slightest chance.

Did Beauvois pretend to have something he never had?

That is a dangerous thing to do as we all know! The brief note of Shea (page 581) is perplexing but to the point. "From some cause Father Beaubois was interdicted, *1733*."

And yet on the *following page* (582) he goes on to state that while the Bishop of Quebec had appointed Beaubois his Vicar-General in Louisiana, the Capuchins refused to acknowledge his authority (because of the old agreement.)

He adds that the colony was divided into two camps and a disedifying struggle ensued. The "Capuchins succeeded in inducing Bishop Mornay to suspend Father de Beaubois and to ask the Provincial of the Jesuits to recall him to France."

Shea seems to be trying to bolster up a very weak case. Just how weak I shall try to show in the discussion of the Banishment of the Jesuits. In the meanwhile religion was at the lowest possible ebb. People lose interest in matters of Religion when instead of the lion lying down with the lamb they claw one another! Grace King in her life of "Sieur de Bienville" puts the whole affair very strongly when she says: "The Ecclesiastical affairs of the Parish were still in a flourishing discord." Bienville, the Governor, was asked by de Luxemburg what he should do about the interdict of the Jesuits in New Orleans.

Bienville wisely advised him to do nothing. But he pointed out that the Jesuits greatly served the cause of religion; that the Capuchins could not administer to the needs of the extensive Parish, comprising also the Hospital and Nunnery; that the nuns did not wish to submit to a Capuchin for Director. It is difficult to reclothe the acts of men dead for so many years but this we can say with all sincerity. Both Beaubois and de Mornay appear to have

behaved very well in this war of authorities. The fault evidently was not with them but with their Superiors who tangled up matters so effectually that even at this date it is next to impossible to find out the real facts.

CHAPTER V.

The Record of the "Voyage Du Nord" Concerning "Les Compagnie Des Indes."

While it has been impossible to obtain knowledge of the whereabouts of the Edicts of the different companies, yet it is interesting to see how the King formed the different companies and the nature of the powers that he gave them. The "Recueil du Voyages au Nord" was published at Amsterdam in *1720*; a resume of volume VI follows:

Page 1. Concession de la Louisianne á M. Crosat pour dix années. Lettres du Roi du 11 Septembre, 1712.

Sorrow is expressed at the continued wars, which Louis, ever since he began to reign, was obliged to wage. He wishes to seek all possible occasions to study and augment the Commerce of the American colonies. Reference is made to the discoveries of La Salle who has extended New France to the Gulf of Mexico, and that by the dicovery of the Mississippi River, a great quantity of gold and silver has been procured for France. Sieur Crosat is given authority to regulate these matters of trade.

Sixteen articles are written down to regulate commerce.

Page 2. Lettres Patentes en forme d'Edict du mois d'ut registres en Parliament le 6 September, 1717, portantes établissement d'une Compagnie du Commerce, sous le nom de Compagnie d'Occident.

Here are fifty-six articles, most of them of a very stringent nature to govern the actions of the Company in any circumstances that may arise, and yet granting them large powers. This is to remain in force for twenty-five years.

Page 23. Arrest.

Qui nomme des Commissionaires pour passer les contracts des Pentes de la Compagnie d'Occident du 24 Septembre, 1717. Extrait des Régistres du Consul d'Etat.

Page 21. Arrest.

Qui nomme des directeurs de la Compagnie d'Occident du 12 Septembre, 1717. Extrait des Régistres du Consul d'Etat.

Page 116. Edict du Roi.

Portant Reunion de Compagnies des Indes Orientales et de la Chine, a la Compagnie d'Occident, donné a Paris au Mois du Mai, *1719.*

Summary: The good standing acquired by the Company of the West, though so newly formed, has determined us to examine into the companies established for some time, and we have seen with sorrow that they have ill-repaid the benefits conferred upon them by the King.

There follow reasons why the Company has failed in both capital and interest. The China Company also has failed to bring in money sufficient to the King's expectations. Of these companies, that Company of the West has alone excited the King's admiration. All these therefore will be merged into one company of Commerce which will govern the trading of the four parts of the World.

Article I. The privileges given to the Company of the East Indies are revoked. Also those of the company of China.

Article II. Sole right is accorded the Company of the West to trade practically all over the known world.

Article IV. Gives to this Company all the properties formerly held by the three companies.

Article XII. Says that it is the King's wish to have this threefold Company called "Compagnie des Indés."

Page 126. Lettres Patentes. (Ten articles)

Page 133. Arrest.

Concernant la Reunion des Indés Orientals et de la Chine a la Compagnie d'Occident, 17 Juin, 1719. Extrait des Registres de Consul d'Etat.

Legal matters concerning this *Morger.*

Page 135. Edit.

Par lequel S. M. fait former vingt-cinq millions de sa Banque a la Compganie d'Occident.

Page 139. Arrest.

Concernant les actions de la Compagnie d'Occident endosses par S. M. etc. Mai 30, 1719.

The rest of Volume VI. is taken up with matters concerning the Hudson Bay Company and the journal of Frobisher to Detroit.

The best authority upon the formation of the different companies is Mims' "Colbert's West Indian Policy."

But nowhere in this book is the authority quoted to which the writer of "Voyage au Nord" introduces us. In effect the *details* of the forming of the Company of the Indies are given.

Twenty-five million francs were required to float this new enterprise.

For twenty-five years this company had the monopoly of the commerce of Louisiana. It paid homage only to the King. It had the right to declare war or to make peace. Its ships could give battle to strange vessels and to all French people who went into Louisiana without its authority. It was exempt from all toll or tax. So great was the success of the Compagnie des Inds that it excited the wonder of Voltaire himself who wrote about it to a friend in *1719*, "Is this a reality or a dream?"

All France was shaken by its lust for the possession of imaginary riches, which this Company declared in its prospectus. The princes of the blood, the Grand Signors, the country-folk, all precipitated themselves into this hideous tangle of excitement which passed from the Rue Quincapoix to the Place Vendome in the gardens of the Hotel of Soissons. In an instance, immense fortunes were made or lost. In this Saturnalia the old and laboring France forgot its moral sense and its modesty.

It was the worst kind of gambling. It was in these days 1720-1722 that Father Beaubois came over to France to make his arrangement with this tremendously strong Company which apparently took a hand in matters religious as well as in matters commercial.

CHAPTER VI.

The War of the Jesuits and Capuchins, 1755-1772.

Before we go with this peculiar war, glance at the Succession in the matter of the Quebec Bishopric.

St. Vallier.

De Mornay.

Dosquet.

Pontbriand, 1741-1760.

It is necessary to have the truth clearly in our minds. In the Article "New Orleans," signed Marie Louise Points, Volume XI.-Page 7, we read: "It was the successor of De Mornay, Pontbriand, who appointed Beaubois his Vicar-General."

But Pontbriand appointed Baudoin S. J. his Vicar-General, and Dosquet was De Mornay's successor.

How much longer Raphael de Luxemburg remained in New Orleans we do not know. He was safely ensconsed there in *1733* and all seemed to be in peace and contentment. Bienville, although an

ardent supporter of the Jesuits, had too much common sense to enter into a war of words with a Capuchin.

But in 1741 Pontbriand S. J., was made Bishop. St. Vallier had been forced to resign by the King on account of the disputes, charges and counter charges that made him the centre of a political whirlpool. De Mornay had never come to America at all, transacting all his Ecclesiastical affairs for Quebec in France. Of Dosquet little or nothing is said, and in Pontbriand we see the last Bishop of Quebec who was there during the French Domination. It was during his Bishopric that Wolfe conquered Montcalm and the English entered Quebec. Pontbriand evidently had made a careful study of the whole question of the dispute, for he thought himself justified in appointing Father Vitry in 1744, and at his death Father Baudoin, both members of the Society of Jesus. He *had* been justified, for an appeal had been made to the French King. In this appeal two arhuments were used:

(*a*) *Vol. 67-37 Jesuit Relat.* "This contract was evidently made with the Company of the Indies, but when that association surrendered its charter, its obligations were transferred to the French Government." Apparently this is the confession of the Jesuits to the much disputed contract. The contract is admitted by the Jesuits, but, they say the Spanish Government, not the French is (1763-1803) the *de facto* government in New Orleans: ergo we do not hesitate to say that the contract is at an end!

This without doubt is the real reason, why they wish to go on in Louisiana! Because one Company should go out of business, why should a contract be broken?

(*b*) Another argument which certainly was used by the Jesuits in their appeal to the French King was the following: They claimed that Baudoin's being Vicar-General of New Orleans was not a violation of the contract, inasmuch as their Superior was acting *not* as a Jesuit in New Orleans, but as Vicar-General. These two arguments gave Baudoin the coveted place.

And to quote the Jesuits still further:

"They could not, as Bishops of Quebec, admit the assent of Bishop De Mornay, a Coadjutor, to an agreement between a trading Company and a Religious Order, thus depriving them of the right to act as fully in Louisiana as in any other part of their Diocese. (See letters of Bishop Briand. June 1767-April, 1769.

Baudoin was finally made Vicar-General, but *before* he accepted, at least one man had been asked by Pontbriand to take the office

and had refused: And the same thing happened in *1767* when the Bishop of Quebec, Briand, asked Father Meurin.

The following is taken from one of Father Meurin's letters to the Bishop of Quebec. Evidently he is writing about the Vicar-Generalship for he says:

"How would I have been received by them (the Capuchins) after having agreed over my own signature, (in order to obtain permission to revisit the Illinois District) how would I comport myself as Vicar with the Reverend Father Capuchins, subject to their visits and reprimands and corrections, saying that their jurisdiction ought to be the sole jurisdiction in all the Mississippi?

And what did they do? As soon as they had heard that you had made me Vicar-General, a warrant of proscription was issued against me and would have been executed if I had not escaped to English territory, and then by taking the oath of allegiance, I secured myself from Spanish persecution which declared that it was criminal in me to have received the jurisdiction of Quebec so contrary to the wishes and best interests of Spain."

This letter was read very differently from Shea, who says: "The Bishop of Quebec, finding it impossible to exercise *any control* over the Capuchins in Louisiana, through their Superior, to maintain discipline, or to carry out the rules of the Diocese, constantly insisted on confiding the office of Vicar-General to some member of the Society of Jesus."

Evidently the Bishop of Quebec was firmly resolved that he would have his own way; his letters of appointment to Father Baudoin gave him powers that were *most explicit.* The letter recites that from the beginning of his administration he had made the Superior General of the Jesuits ***his*** Vicar-General in all parts of Louisiana, and specifically gave Baudoin full powers over all Priests whether Jesuit or Capuchin to give or withhold powers according to his discretion. This letter of appointment is in the Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec, *C. 224.* At once the war between the Jesuits and Capuchins began again all the more furiously because by this time (1755) the arguments that the Orders used had become more or less known.

In *1759* the trouble was still in full blast. Bishop Pontbriand laid the whole matter before the Society of the Propoganda. It is with deep interest we read that no decision was reached. These reasons that were behind this Scotch verdict in Rome are interesting. The banishment of the Jesuits was very near; and it was and is true that in no country are the Capuchins so powerful as in Italy. Even under these circumstances, it was Greek meet Greek, and so power-

ful were the Jesuits even in the hour of their defeat that the Propoganda were not *able* to come to any decision, however much they might have wished to decide! One more matter must be told and this also rests in uncertainty: Did the Superior Council of New Orleans register or not the appointment of Baudoin? It is uncertain. Jesuits say the appointment was registered. Others say that it was *not* registered. And we can make no appeal to Documentary Evidence. The Records of the Superior Council just prior to the Spanish domination have been lost. *Perhaps* they were lost at sea. But the banishment of the Jesuits could be put off no longer: Three reasons were alleged for an action which was about as forceful as the decision against the Standard Oil in 1910.

The Jesuits are back again in New Orleans and are very powerful. There is no Capuchin Church or any of the Order in the city (*1917.*)

However, this may be, the Jesuits were banished *1764* and one of the three reasons was "the usurpation of the Vicar-Generalship of the Episcopate of Quebec." Let us allow the Jesuits to tell their own story of the Condemnation: (Jesuit Relations. Vol. 70-259.)

"Almost eighteen or twenty years ago, (1744) Pontbriand, Bishop of Quebec, sent letters to Vitry, Superior of the Jesuits making him Vicar-General. Vitry died 1750, and Baudoin was made Vicar-General. (Gayarre says the Superior Council refused to register Baudoin's appointment.) Vol. 2-80.

To continue the version as given in The Relations, "these letters *were* registered by the Superior Council. But afterwards, there arose disputes. The Capuchins pursuaded themselves that the name and function of Vicar-General had been given to *their* Superior by the Bishop of Quebec when the Company of the Indies had named him as Curé of New Orleans, and these two titles (Curé of New Orleans and Vicar-General) ought to be inseparable and in consequence ought to belong to them.

The pretensions of the Capuchins were well known to the Bishop of Quebec. The Jesuits (many will not believe it but the fact is no less true) directed all their efforts to be freed from a position which was only for them a source of perplexity and contradiction. But the Prelate persisted in wishing that the office of Vicar-General should remain with the man whom he had nominated. The Capuchins refused to recognize Father Baudoin. The matter was then referred to the Superior Council, which after several disputes adjudged to the Jesuits by a decree the legitimate possession of the Grand-Vicariate and the registers of the Council testify to this.

Father Baudoin had the name and performed the duties thereof until the day in which the decree of destruction was issued."

According to these "Relations" Baudoin was Vicar-General until April 1, 1767. Then the Jesuits were banished and the Capuchins were free to govern as they pleased, and the War of the Jesuits with all its bitterness was at an end.

It is almost impossible to give a table of names and dates of the men of either Order who were Vicar-Generals, some of them at the same time, but the attempt has been made and is now laid before the student of history.

Jesuit.	*Capuchin.*
	1722.
(Making efforts without success to combat contract.)	Contract made for Vicar-Generalship by Company of the Indies.
	1723.
	Raphael de Luxemburg first Vicar - General, appointed by Archbishop of Rouen.
	1727.
Beaubois asserted he was made Vicar-General, but was expelled after three years, from New Orleans, April 1, 1730.	Not known when Raphael was asked to leave.
	1733 to 1744.
	Matthias, Vicar-General. (John Shea only one to give this name.)
	1744 to 1750.
Father Vitry appointed by Bishop Pontbriand.	Dagobert, who says he was made Vicar-General by Quebec; no date and no document.
	1750 to 1755.
Baudoin appointed by Pontbriand.	Same as above.
	1764.
Jesuits expelled.	
	1752.
	Dagobert, Superior of the French Capuchins.

Capuchin.

Spanish.	*French.*
	1755 to 1772.
	Hilaire de Genoveaux, whose coming and going is uncertain; was made Apostolic Vicariate about 1755.
	1772.
CIRILLO appointed by Bishop of Havana to investigate ecclesiastical matters.	DAGOBERT made Vicar-General, Sept. 14, 1772, by Bishop of Havana.
	1773.

BATTLE ROYAL, Cirillo and Hilaire attacking and Unzaga defending. Dagobert subject of battle.

CIRILLO wins battle in 1780 by being made Bishop Coadjutor of New Orleans. Having won his battle, he lost it by being deposed in 1797.

As soon as New Orleans became a separate Bishopric the struggle concerning the Vicar-Generalship ceased.

CHAPTER VII.

The Triple Struggle for the Vicar-Generalship. 1772-1773.

And now we come to the end of the contention. Three men participated as principals—all of them Capuchins: Hilaire de Geneveaux, Cirillo of Barcelona, and Dagobert. As keenly interested and maintaining a brisk correspondence on the subject were Unzaga, second Spanish Governor of New Orleans, and the Bishop of Havana.

With an almost complete list of Spaniards as participators in the three-fold struggle, it speaks volumes for the justice of those who finally decided, that they seem to give the preference to Dagobert and not to Hilaire or Cirillo, both Spaniards. The matter is made very clear by the documents which can be seen upon the subject at the Louisiana Historical Society at New Orleans. In the years 1772-1773 we find three letters from Unzaga, the Governor, to the Bishop of Havana; three letters from Cirillo to the Bishop of Havana, one from the much discussed Dagobert himself to his Bishop thanking him for the bestowal of the Vicar-Generalship, and finally two from Unzaga to the Marquis de la Torre, and Julian Arriaga, Justice of the Indies. Dagobert's letter has been translated in part: the letter to de la Torre is given by me in such parts as are vital to the

discussion. The one point on which I have no information is the answer of the Bishop of Havana to this fusilade of attacks. It is useless to attempt to do work that has already been done better than almost anyone else could do it. For this reason I have not attempted to translate the letters of Cirillo or those of Unzaga to the Bishop, which the late Charles Gayarre has translated and which form part of his Volume III, History of Louisiana. If any sentences are quoted it will be simply to bring out certain points that have escaped the eminent translator. With this introduction we go on with the final episode.

The first word we learn of Dagobert is when O'Reilly came to take possession of New Orleans. "The curate as Vicar-General in behalf of the people addressed the general a pathetic harangue coupled with the most earnest protestations of fidelity on his part."

This must have been Dagobert, although Gayarre does not say so here.

We know that Dagobert had been Vicar-General, receiving his authority from the Bishop of Quebec: "Para la continuacion del empleo que el Iltmo. Sr. Obispo de Quebec me tenia confiado," (letter from Dagobert to Bishop of Havana). How came a Capuchin Vicar-General, after Pontbriand had made such a point up to *1760* of having Jesuits? And was not Baudoin Vicar-General in that year? Unzaga in his letter to the Bishop, July 11, 1772, gives a detailed statement of the ecclesiastical organization of Louisiana. "The King supported out of his treasury a mission of Capuchins. The Bishop of Quebec appointed for his Superior a Jesuit who also was Vicar-General. But the Friar Hilaire had been made Superior of the Capuchins by the Provincial of Champagne in France."

Hilaire seems to have been a man of superior education. He disputed the rights of the Vicar-General of the Jesuits and the old quarrel began in full blast again. He went quietly to Europe and returned with the title Apostolic Prothonotary—a title new to this war for jurisdiction. An Apostolic Prothonotary is a member of the highest college of Prelates in the Roman Curia. In the middle ages they were often raised from this rank to that of Cardinal. This new rank of Hilaire and his attempt to take the spiritual jurisdiction of New Orleans simply added fuel to the fire of contention already piled so high. The Jesuit Vicar-General asked the Bishop of Quebec, Briand, 1762 (?) to expel Hilaire as a usurper of Episcopal jurisdiction. Other forces however were at work. This time the secular forces took a hand. Hilaire was expelled, but by the Superior Council of New Orleans, "La novedad causaria alguna numeracion claustral esta

se revelaria por el P. Hilaire Genoveaux, religioso Capuchino Frances antiguo missionario de esta Orovincia y que fue expulsado del ella por disputas y que tuvo de jurisdiccion con los llamados antes Jesuitas que dandole quejas contra el P. Dagobert por que no hiso la causa Suya."

This news would no doubt cause some trouble which would show itself in the person of Father Hilaire Genoveaux, a French Capuchin priest, formerly missionary of this province and who was expelled for some disputes which he had concerning the jurisdiction with the aforesaid Jesuits, who complained against Father Dagobert for not making their quarrel his won.

The Superior Council did expel Hilaire, not because of his religious disputes, but because he would not agree with them in their attempted uprising against Spain (1763) who in the person of Ulloa were attempting to govern the country.

Hilaire and the Jesuits being disposed of, the most natural thing in the world happened when O'Reilly (1770) became Military Governor, and, as Gayarre says, "the old Superior of the Capuchins, the Reverend Father Dagobert, remained in the undisturbed exercise of his pastoral functions, in the southern part of Louisiana, of which the Bishop of Quebec made him Vicar-General."

Then came Unzaga and was made Governor of Louisiana, *August 17, 1772*. Father Dagobert was well fitted for his office; he had long served the Diocese under the French Regime; now he was as willing to serve under Spanish Domination. He was a man of peace. He tended his people faithfully. And the Spanish Government viewed him with favor. Almost with the advent of Unzaga, Father Dagobert, already Vicar-General by appointment from Quebec, received a letter from the Bishop of Havana and, September 12, 1772, wrote his answer: "He recibido la carta con que ora grandera ha gustado honorara me." He was therefore in a double sense of security. Evidently from Dagobert's letter the Bishop of Havana was pleased with Dagobert, for he also made him Vicar-General. There was alas need that this honor should be conferred upon him. For evil times had come among them. Shortly after the Spanish Domination, Hilaire, the Apostolic Prothonotary, came back to New Orleans. But he passed his days, seemingly, in prayers and meditation and gave Dagobert no trouble at all. For about seven years all went smoothly until it became known that Fr. Cirillo, Spanish Capuchin, and sent by the Bishop of Havana to investigate conditions, was soon to appear on the scene.

On the 19th of July, 1772, (three months before Dagobert received his appointment) Cirillo came and was welcomed by Dagobert with all honors at the Cabildo. Unzaga also welcomed Cirillo and declared that he would do all in his power to aid in carrying out orders of the Bishop of Cuba to see that true religion and good morals should adorn this new Spanish possession. At once Cirillo began to write his letters to the Bishop. Gayarre translates that dated August 6, 1772, (Vol. III-57-66.)

After some caustic remarks concerning the personal characters of the French Capuchins, he advises the Bishop "until we can learn the French language to commission Dagobert as the Vicar-General of this province." In the meanwhile information came to the Bishop of Havana from a different source. Unzaga wrote very fully to the Bishop, July 11, 1772, and this is also translated in part by Gayarré, (Vol. III-66-71). He advises the retention of Dagobert for *one year* as Vicar-General. Afterwards that one of the Spanish Franciscans be selected to succeed him. So far so good. But Cirillo (14 September, 1772) who had still more time to make investigations concerning the French Capuchins, waxed still angrier and so expressed himself to the Bishop of Cuba. He gives a detailed account of how Dagobert came to be Superior. In that his account differs from Unzaga, it is of interest:

When Louisiana was ceded to Spain, *1763*, the French conspirators asked Hilaire, then Superior, to help them. He refused. Then they asked Father Dagobert to help them. He said he would do so. Then the conspirators seized Hilaire and sent him to France. Dagobert wrote to the Provincial in Champagne that Hilaire had run away to the English and on this representation, "Got himself confirmed in the office, to which he had been promoted,—what remains for us to do is to write to the Court to obtain the dismissal of Dagobert."

But *only the day before*, Dagobert wrote to Havana to thank the Bishop for the title of Vicar-General, just granted.

Cirillo and the Bishop evidently had two minds about this matter!

The more Cirillo writes the angrier he becomes, until Gayarre declines to translate his last epistle, saying that it savors too much of the style of Juvenel. It is not pleasant nor is it of any historical value to wade through filth.

Here and there are stray sentences which seem to show why the Friar waxed wrath. "Under these circumstances, I would advise you either to send an impartial person to look into ecclesiastical conditions or to give me the power vital to make reform thorough."

And again: "This Father Dagobert has promised the Governor that he would do all you ask and on this condition the Governor is willing to allow Dagobert to remain Vicar-General *for one year* only and that then, I should take his place." Now at last we understand what is at the bottom of all these contentions! It is the desire of Cirillo for power!

Evidently, from the letter of the Attorney-General on the state of the Church—a letter in manuscript at the Louisiana Historical Society—matters in regard to Holy Matrimony were in a very undesirable state.

As no reference has been made to this letter by any historian, the title of the letter is now given. "Informe de Fiscal del Consejo acerca de las pastoral y demas providencias del Obispo de Cuba para el arreglo del gobierno Eclesiastico de la Louisiana, 1773."

There are very particular and exact rules laid down for this Sacrament (Matrimony) and its proper celebration by the Priests. In fact, the bulk of the letter is taken up with the question. However, attention is called to the fact that the letter is unfinished or else has been cut out of the volume containing the Spanish manuscripts.

After examination of the letter, it would seem that for some unknown reason the part of the letter that has been cut out refers to the settlement of the quarrel, and we are left in doubt as to how this matter was decided.

Here is a very important paragraph to the effect that the Fiscal calls both Cirillo and Dagobert Vicar-Generals, but he makes this distinction, Cirillo is called Auxilliary Vicar-General, while Dagobert is to have supreme control, and again, the following paragraph is noteworthy, in that Cirillo seems to have brought his charges before the Attorney-General, and here is the answer:

"The Fiscal has examined with strict attention this state of affairs, and finds that the Prelate has conducted himself with an exquisite prudence.

"El Fiscal lo ha examinado con prolija atencion y halla que el prelado se maneja, con exquisita prudencia."

And later the Attorney-General adds: "En nada in fringen ni vulneran las Regalias de S. M." "He, (Dagobert) infringed the law in no respect, nor did he break the bread the privileges of his Majesty."

And finally, in Unzaga's letter to Julius Arriaga in 1773, the moral character of Dagobert becomes the subject of discussion:

"Yo no hablo de pecados secretos cuantas veces el predicador ensena lo que no ejecuta, las negras mulatas que servian a los Capu-

chinos y de que informe al Ilus Obispo tal vez nacidas de su habitacion, esto es de los negros de su hacienda de compana."

It is very curious that both the Attorney-General and the Governor could speak so stoutly in defense of Dagobert and that apparently the only person to raise a voice against him was a Friar of his own Order.

After a study of the letters, there is no reason to believe that Dagobert was the sort of a person depicted by Cirillo, nor is there apparent ground for the eminent historian Gayarre, in making Dagobert resemble a libertine in character. Whether or not Dagobert was compelled to give up his work, we do not know; until more documents shall be found we are in ignorance. But certainly a man who can have two such good champions as the Attorney-General and the Governor must have been a man of merit.

And Cirillo and Hilaire played a very unworthy part.

Certainly we do not find that they have been traduced by Dagobert!

To the onlooker it seems a clear case; that both Cirillo and Hilaire were eaten up with the desire for power, and that the arraignments of Dagobert were simply the deeds of jealous men who were disappointed because they were deprived of the Vicar-Generalship.

Enough has been said to prove that the subject of the Hundred Years' War has many ramifications and that this essay only touches the hem of what some day may prove to be a large garment, covering a very large body of truth.

It will also be of interest to learn this undoubted fact that the letter of Dagobert to the Bishop of Havana is certified to be a correct translation from the original. Evidently Dagobert wrote in the French language and not in the Spanish.

CHAPTER VIII.

Interesting Fragments.

Many questions can be asked as we rehearse the events of this war of over one hundred years! Among the transcription of letters in the Louisiana Historical Society, Vol. II Valley of Mississippi, is one of three letters from Cirillo to the Bishop of Cuba. The following is from the letter *September 15, 1772*:

"Por que, tratando con el Sr. Gober de todo lo que le escribo y diciendole yo que me sabia mal de haber comsentido de que tro Padre

fuse Vicario General un ano; y mi conciencia me acusaba continuamento de haber caido en esta ligeresa. . ."

* * * * * *

The tender conscience of Cirillo is greatly touched concerning the enormities of Dagobert, yet in the letter of Unzaga to the Marquis de la Torre, Captain-General of the island of Cuba, the Governor does not hestitate to tell him that if Cirillo should triumph over Dagobert, it would be against *his* conscience and honor; it would be the triumph of malice and artifice over innocence; and instead of protecting Cirillo, he ought to be sent away to the most remote part of the province.

"Si fortificaba contra mi conciencia y honor al P. Cirilo triumfar la malicia, el artificio y oprimida la inocencia si me aplicaba a protejer a esta, era forzoso hechar al P. Cirillo lo menos a lo mas remoto de la Provincia."

Dagobert is the subject of both these contentions and Dagobert has left but one letter—the letter of a man of admittedly low birth and breeding, but as far as it goes, perfectly decent and respectful. Which is right?

In the Archives of the Indies at Seville, in Spain, a transcript of which is in the Cabildo, there is a manuscript with this title:

"Expediente relativo a la Real resolucion que S. M. se ha dignado tomar, y participado al lonsejo y lamara por su Rl. decreto de 31 de Enero de este ano de 1769 sobre el gobierno y establecimiento de la Provincia y colonia de la Luisiana."

"Provision concerning the Royal Decree that His Majesty has thought worth while to set forth, and to have the King's Council by this Royal Decree of the 31st of January, 1769, about the Government being established in the province and colony of Louisiana."

It is in the days of Ulloa, first Spanish Governor, when the times were stormy in New Orleans, which was then so overwhelming French. One clause here is germane:

"Que en cuanto al parto espiritual de la colonia, conceptua necessario diez y ocho sacerdotes. Informa asi mismo las buenas calidades del Padre Dagobert y lo util que sera su permanencia en la Provincia y concluye manifestando su opinion de que la Luisiana debe depender en lo espiritual del Obispo de la Havana."

"He also informed us of the good personal qualities of Father Dagobert and that he would be always useful in the Province and that it was manifestly certain in his opinion that the Province ought to depend in matters spiritual upon the Bishop of Havana."

Here we clearly see that in 1769 Fr. Dagobert was the ecclesiascal head, and when he was perhaps asked the question whether Louisiana should be under Quebec or Havana, he said Havana.

Finally, look at a portion of Unzaga's letter to the Marquis de la Torre, July 10, 1773; its subject is "La competencia entre los Capuchinos franceses y Espanoles." (Note that I have correctly copied the head-lines; "franceses" has a small f and "Espanoles" a capital E!)

"No obstante como estos Religiosos poco se embarasan en el fondo de las cosas, y solo estaban pendientes de la Vicariacomo Su iltmo hubiese dejado al Padre Dagobert de Vicario interino y al P. Cirillo de Auxiliar se unieron, y dejaron al P. Hilario solo y sin amigos entre ellos."

"Nevertheless as those religious stain themselves not a little in the slowness of their movements, and are only clinging to this Vicar since your illustrious Bishop has given Father Dagobert this respected Vicariate and has given to Fr. Cirillo the position of Auxiliary Vicar, thus leaving out Hilaire alone and without friends among us."

We see real cause for Cirilo's ungovernable jealousy. In spite of his trying to blacken Dagobert, it is the French Capuchin who is in authority with Cirillo playing a bad second. Gayarré leaves the whole subject *in medias res* and nothing more is said and the episode is closed. The only other news is in 1780 when Cirillo finally triumphing is made Coadjutor of Louisiana.

The reader will notice that the person against whom these vigorous complaints are made is quite silent. I mean the Bishop of Havana. No where in Louisiana or Cuba are there documents which purport to come from him; there may be letters in Spain. Perhaps they are in Seville in the Archive des Indes, having been carried over from Cuba when that country ceased to become a Spanish province, and was under the rule of the United States. Up to this present time no Carnegie Research has found these letters. Why? Time and careful search, only, can answer this question, but at present these letters are not available, unless documents which have not been available shall have been found. And there is another strange silence. There is not one word direct from Capuchins who figure so prominently in this quarrel. Indirectly there are many strong testimonies, some of which you have already read, but if there is any more direct testimony, Spanish, Italian and French Archives have successfully hidden it. It may take years to find out the story from the Capuchin view-point, for all three archives are difficult of access.

There is the following episode from Gayarre, purporting to have taken place in 1752:

"Dagobert, Superior of the Capuchins, courteously invited Baudoin, Superior of the Jesuits, to give his benediction to a hospital built for the poor while he himself acted as assistant at the service. This Baudoin agreed to do and at once made the service and the part he took in it a basis for the following argument:

"Baudoin said that he had been publicly recognized after the service as Vicar-General of New Orleans and that now it was too late for the Capuchins to dispute his title."

This story fits in beautifully with my episode of what is called, "The War of the Jesuits and Capuchins." It is not inserted in that chapter because so far no documentary evidence is found to support it.

Enough has been said to make this fact certain. Only the barest outlines have been given of an episode of history that is as interesting as it is shrouded in mystery.

To the student who wishes to unravel this tangle, a rich vein may be uncovered, and its discovery will be under Spanish, Italian and French flags, to say nothing of Canadian Archives and the MSS. in the Louisiana Historical Society.



EARLY EPISODES IN LOUISIANA HISTORY

By William Kernan Dart.

Foreword.

Bossu, who was a French Captain of the Marines, visited Louisiana in 1751, and subsequently in 1761. He reported his travels in letters to his patrons in France, notably the Marquis de Lestrade. He was an acute observer, and described his adventures in a straightforward, direct style. The three volumes which contain his narratives are replete with historical descriptions concerning Louisiana, its natives, its flora, and its fauna. Certain historical inaccuracies appear in his accounts, notably in his account of the casualties in the Natchez massacre, where he fixes the dead at 2,000, while the modern historians fix them at 200.

Little is known of the career of this explorer and historian of early Louisiana, not even his first name being remembered. He had a long career in the armies of France, being seriously wounded at the battle of Chateau Dauphin in July, 1744, in the Alps. His work is now not generally accessible, and so far as is recorded, was only translated into English once, and then by John Reinhols Forster, in 1771. Forster's translation was printed at London, and now seems to be as rare as the original French text.

The account which is here rendered into English is given in the English equivalent of Bossu's French. The thoughts are those of Bossu, as are the criticisms and historical statements. No credit or originality is to be ascribed to the present translator, unless it be that of the scribe who has laboriously reduced to our language that which Bossu so readily told in his own easily flowing French.

The first person is used in the following account because it is Bossu, who is speaking. The description of the Natchez massacre, and the events preceding it are selected for two reasons: Because it is peculiarly appropriate to the times of Bienville to whose memory this number of the Quarterly is dedicated, and because it relates the story of perhaps the first battle in our own part of the country in which white men participated. It is, of course, only an incident in the history of warfare, and would in all likelihood not even be deemed worthy of a communique in the great battle reports of today; but it is evidence of the fact that Frenchmen and Frenchwomen knew how to die just as bravely in the early eighteenth century defending their

firesides as they know how to die along the western front in these sad days of nineteen hundred and eighteen, Anno Domini.

But let us turn to Bossu, and listen to the story he tells:

I.

The Trip From France.

While I was at Belle-Isle on the sea in 1750 under the command of the Chevalier de Grossolles, he gave me a letter from the Count d'Argenson, advising me that His Majesty had seen fit to appoint me a lieutenant in the Marine troops. His orders were for me to present myself without delay at Rochefort. After a tempestuous voyage from Belle-Isle, during which our frail vessel narrowly escaped shipwreck, I ultimately arrived at Rochefort, reporting to the Intendant of Marines, Le Normant de Mesi.

The Intendant, who was a man of true merit and well worthy of his position, informed me that it was necessary for me to make a voyage beyond the seas. Accordingly I departed for La Rochelle, where I embarked on a ship named the *Pontchartrain du Port*, a vessel of four hundred tons. Le Normant had oufitted this ship for His Majesty with the object of transporting four companies of marines, who had been taken from the fort of the Isle de Rhé, and who were to reinforce the garrison of New Orleans.

We left La Rochelle on November 26th. For fifteen days, contrary winds tossed us about the shores of Spain, until we were almost ready to put into some nearby port for repairs. Fortunately the wind changed suddenly, and at the end of January, we sighted the coast of Madeira, then the property of the Crown of Portugal.

On February 15th, we entered the Tropic of Cancer, and on the following day the sailors initiated, with many ludicrous ceremonies, those aboard who had never hitherto passed this line. Finally, two months after our departure from La Rochelle, we arrived in good health at Cape Francis, on the coast and island of St. Domingo, which was the first land of America where the Spaniards had built towns and fortresses.

The Cape is situated at the foot of a mountain. It is defended by a fort built into the rock at the entrance of the port, and this fort is protected by artillery which juts out into the sea over a promontory or cape. From this promontory the cape takes it name. It is inhabitated by European merchants, creoles, and negroes, the latter being employed by the inhabitants in the cultivating of sugar cane, coffee, indigo, cocoa, cotton, and tobacco. The Spanish and the

French share this country; the latter inhabiting the more western part of it.

The Indians in this island have been frightfully oppressed by the Spaniards, but the European inhabitants are most courteous and gentle, and justify all praise that is given them. It is with good reason that France accords the title of nobility to the creoles; they uphold it completely by their distinguished capacities, either in the profession of arms or in the other arts which they exercise with equal success.

We left this place on March 8, 1751, and on March 15, we arrived at the island of Cuba, which is the most temperate of the Antilles. Departing from Havana, the capital of this island, we met between Cape Catoche and Cape St. Anthony on March 23,a violent equinoxial storm. I became very sea sick, and was only strengthened by my ardor in serving my country in a new land. Suddenly the wind changed, the sea became appeased, and a few days later we entered the famous Gulf of Mexico. There we came across a prodigious amount of floating trees, which came from Louisiana, and which had been carried into the Gulf by the Mississippi river. This in a measure served to guide us to the mouth of this river, which is blocked by sand bars and shoals.

During the first days of April, we perceived the Balise, a fort established at the mouth of the Mississippi river.

Monsieur le Moyne d'Iberville, a Canadian gentleman, discovered this mouth in 1698, after de la Salle had missed it in 1684. Our boat crosed the bar, and we fired our cannon in order to call the coast pilot. At the same time the captain of the ship disembarked his artillery, and two hundred men who had been selected for service on this border of the colony of Louisiana.

On April 4th, we, eighteen officers, descended from the ship and reported to the Fort of the Balise, which was, measured by the sinuosities of the river, about ninety miles from New Orleans. M. de Santilly was in command of this fort, and he made us as comfortable as we could be made at this post, which was isolated and surrounded by a marsh filled with serpents and crocodiles.

Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor of the colony, having been informed of our arrival, sent several ships for us. They brought many delicacies, which we distributed among our soldiers, and we left for New Orleans on these boats, arriving there on Easter Day. The Marquis had just received twenty four companies of marines to increase his force in Louisiana, and on the same vessels that brought these marines there came girls who had been recruited in

France to populate this country. The King granted those who married a certain number of arpents of land for cultivation, supported them for three years, gave them a musket, and a half livre of powder, two livres of shot a month, an axe, a mattock, poultry, and cattle for their lands.

II.

Life in New Orleans: An Indian Treaty.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil distributed the twenty-four new companies in different quarters of the colony, without exception as to persons, the most influential being ordered with the most weak to these far posts of duty. It was my fate to be allotted to the company that was ordered to the Illinois, a frontier post about fifteen hundred miles from New Orleans. I had the honor of being one of a number of officers, who were particularly recommended to the Marquis by Monsieur Rovillé, the Minister of the Marine, and his hospitality enlivened my stay until I was definitely settled. He lived in great affluence, but this Governor did the honors with such nobility and with such generosity, that he acquired the esteem and the friendship of all the officers, who justly gave him the title of Father of the Colony. M. Michel de la Rouvilliere, the *ordonnateur*, contributed on his side to render our existence more pleasant by the gentle way in which he distributed the produce of the country, just as he did everything relative to his ministry.

We departed August 20th for the Illinois post with Monsieur de Macarty, who had been named commandant by the Court. The different nations which I was obliged to visit during this long voyage permits me to give an ample description of the beautiful Mississippi river, and of the peoples who inhabit its borders.

In New Orleans the streets are well arranged and today this city is greater and more thickly populated than it has ever been. Its inhabitants are of four sorts, Europeans, Americans, Africans or negroes and Mongrels. The Mongrels are those who were born of Europeans and of those natives of the country whom we call savages.

They describe Creoles as those who were born of a Frenchman and a Frenchwoman, or a Frenchman and an European.

The Creoles are in general very brave, grand, and haughty. They are disposed towards the cultivation of the arts and sciences, but as they do not have the opportunity of following the teachings of good masters here, the rich and well meaning parents do not hesitate to send their children to France as the first school of everything in

the world. They do this particularly in order that the respective sexes might properly learn their positions in the world.

New Orleans and Mobile are the only cities where they do not speak in a patois. Here the French that is spoken is correct. The negroes are brought from Africa. They are used in cultivating the soil, which is excellent for the cultivation of indigo, tobacco, rice, maize, and of sugar cane, for all of which there are very well managed plantations.

The city of New Orleans is inhabited by merchants, artisans, and foreigners. It is an enchanted place because of the salubrity of its air, the fecundity of its ground, and the beauty of its position. This city is situated on the banks of the Mississippi, one of the greatest rivers of the world, since it flows through more than twenty-four hundred miles of known country. Its pure and delicious waters (M. Normant de Mesi, while he was Intendant of the Marine at Rochefort served it on his table; this water has the virtue of contributing to the fecundity of women), serve a country of an hundred and twenty miles, in the middle of which are a number of homes which present a delightful spectacle on both banks. The owners of these homes enjoy in abundance all the pleasures of the chase, of fishing, and of all the other delicacies of life.

The Capuchins were the first priests to arrive in New Orleans. They came as missionaries in 1723. Their superior was the first Curé of the Parish, and these good religious devoted themselves solely to the affairs of their ministry.

The Jesuits, two years later, established themselves in Louisiana; these splendid diplomats discovered the secret of exploiting the rich land of the colony, which they obtained through their political moves.

The Ursulines came about the same time as the Jesuits, or a little later. These pious women, whose zeal is assuredly most praiseworthy, devoted themselves to the education of the young girls. They also received the orphans into their community, and for this service the King gave them a pension of fifty crowns for each orphan. They were also in charge of the military hospital.

When the colony was established, a tribe known as the *Chitimachas* lived on a stream to the west of New Orleans, which bore their name. In 1720, one of this tribe assassinated on the banks of the Mississippi, the Abbé de S. Côme, the missionary of this colony. M. de Bienville, then Governor, took the entire nation to task, and he attacked them with the aid of several tribes, our allies.

These savages were defeated, and the loss of many of their best warriors forced them to demand peace. Bienville granted it to them

on the condition that they would bring him the head of the murderer. They punctiliously satisfied this condition, and came to Bienville to present him the calumet of peace.

The calumet is a long pipe of red, white, or black marble, the stem being about three feet of cane. The savages send it by deputies to the nations with whom they wish to make treaties or renew alliances. They dress themselves for this occasion with white eagle plumes, for this is their symbol of peace and of amity. They will go anywhere without fear with this calumet, for there is nothing more sacred among these people.

They arrived in all their regalia at New Orleans, singing the song of the calumet, and beating the wind in cadence so as to announce the arrival of their ambassador.

The chief of the deputation then said: "I am happy to present myself before you. It is a long time since you have borne hatred against our nation. We have been told that this enmity has departed from your heart, and we see with joy that happier days are before us both."

They then seated themselves on the ground, placing their faces on their hands. Their leader spoke without hesitation and they kept silent without changing their positions during his harangue, A word uttered, or a laugh escaping by the French during this address would have been considered an affront by them.

The chief having spoken, some moments later he arose with two others. One of the latter filled the pipe of the calumet with tobacco, the other lit it, the chief puffed it, and he then presented it to Monsieur de Bienville to do likewise. The Governor smoked it as did each of his officers in turn according to each's respective rank. This ceremony being concluded, the old orator took back the pipe, and gave it into Bienville's custody.

Then the chief again seated himself, and the other ambassadors produced the presents, which they had brought the Governor. These consisted of deer and other skins, all being white as a sign of peace.

The chief was then covered with several sable skins sewn together; they were crossed over the right shoulder and under the left arm. He gathered together the folds of this robe, drew himself up with a majestic air, and delivered this harangue to the Governor:

"My heart smiles with joy to see me before you. We both understand the word of peace that has passed between us. The heart of our nation laughs with happiness until it leaps for pleasure! Our women forget at once all that has passed! They dance! Our children are as happy as the young roe. Your word will never be

forgotten. Our hearts and our ears are overflowing with it, and we will defend it and protect it as long as the memory of man lasts. As this war has made us poor, we had to order a general chase to bring you these skins, but we did not dare to go far fearing that the other nations would not understand your word. Even until now we came trembling on our way until we saw your face.

"My heart and my eyes are happy to see you today. Our presents are small, but they are brought with a full heart, so that we may obey your word. When you command us, our limbs will hasten as quickly as the stags in order to do that which you wish."

Here the orator paused. Then raising his voice, he continued gravely:

"Ah! how beautiful is the sun today compared to what it was when you fought us. How dangerous is a wicked man! You know that one of us has killed your chief of the prayers, whose death has caused us the loss of our bravest warriors. There are only left among us our old men, our women, and our children, who hold forth their arms to you as they would to a good father. The son who was otherwise in your heart now comes to take his better place. The Great Spirit is no longer angry with our nation. You have asked for the head of our wicked man. To have peace, we have brought it to you.

"Yesterday the sun was red, the roads were filled with thorns and brambles, the clouds were black, the waters were troubled and muddied, our women wept unceasingly over the loss of their relatives and did not dare to seek wood for our support. Our children cried with fear. Even while the night birds sung, our warriors were on their feet. They only slept with their arms in their hands. Our cabins were abandoned, and our fields were overgrown with weeds. our stomachs were unfed, and our faces thin. Our game fled from us, the serpents hissed at us in anger and in fear, striking at us with their fangs. The birds, which lived near our homes, seemed by their sad melodies, to only sing to us the song of the dead.

"Today, the sun is brilliant, the skies are clear, the clouds have flown away, the roads are covered with roses, our gardens and our fields are cultivated, and we offer to the Great Spirit the first of their fruits. The water is now so clear that we may see our images, the serpents have fled, or else they no longer start at us, the birds charm us by the sweetness and the harmony of their song, and our wives and daughters dance even so that they forget to eat and to drink. The heart of all our nation rings with joy to see that henceforth both the French and ourselves march along the same road; to see the

same sun enlightening us both. We both speak the same tongue, and our hearts shall be as one, for neither shall we kill the French nor the French kill us. Our warriors follow the chase so that they may live, and so that we may both eat together. Do you not say that this is good, my Father?"

To this discourse, spoken in a firm and assured tone, with all the grace and gentility, and with all the majesty possible, M. de Bienville answered in a few words in common language, which he spoke with ease. He told them that he was happy to see that the nation had regained its spirits, he invited them to dine, and as a sign of amity he placed his hand in that of the chief, and thus the treaty was concluded.

Since that time, this tribe has been devotedly attached to the French, and to this day they furnish the game and venison of the city of New Orleans.

III.

The Natchez Tribe, and Their Massacre of the French.

After leaving New Orleans we arrived at the place inhabited by the superb nation of the Natchez. These people are forever in the public news and by their power and by the extent of their territory they impose their will upon the other contiguous nations. Their country extends from the *Menchak* river, which is about an hundred and fifty miles from the sea up to that of the *Hoyo*, which is in the neighborhood of thirteen hundred and eighty miles from the sea.

We departed from New Orleans on August 20th for our Illinois voyage, with six boats carrying the four companies already mentioned by me, all of us being under the command of M. de Macarty. The trip was made by rowing against the current of the Mississippi, because of the sinuosities of this river. This stream flows between two high banks covered with great forests, the trees of which are the most ancient in the world.

We first met two German villages, which had been established in 1720 through a concession made to Law by the King. These places were inhabited by people from Germany and their provinces numbering fifteen hundred persons, and the land occupied by them formerly belonged to a savage nation called the *Akanca*. They had twelve square miles, and had been created into a duchy. With them came a transport of a company of Dragons, and more than a million of merchandise, but Law lacked the necessary facilities to support them.

The emigrants separated, and the Germans settled about thirty miles above New Orleans. They are a very hard-working people, and they are regarded as the purveyors of the capital. Their two villages are in command of a Swedish captain, who is the Sieur d'Arensbourg. He was at the battle of Pultova with Charles XII in 1709, and is the head of a large family which has settled in Louisiana.

Six miles further up we found the *Collapissas*, a tribe distingusihed for their attachment to the French, but they are very much depopulated today. Their true name is *Aquelon Pissas*, that is to say, a nation of men who understand and who see.

Above them are the *Oumas*, sun worshippers. Like nearly all the other nations of America, there people believe that the Sovereign Being resides there, and they therefore revere in this living sun the author of all nature. They say that nothing on earth compares to this wonder, which enlightens the universe, and which dispenses joy and abundance. It is according to such principles that they follow this worship as a cult and pray to the sun as the physical image of the grandeur and the goodness of a god, who deigns to communicate to mankind by showering them with this benefits.

Forty-five miles from the *Oumas*, going up the river, we came to *"la pointe coupée."* This post is situated about an hundred and twenty miles from New Orleans. The ground there is most fertile, and is covered with fruit trees. The place is mainly colonized by the French, who busy themselves with the culture of tobacco, cotton, rice, maize, and such other commodities. These colonists are also engaged in the cutting of timber and wood, which they transport to New Orleans as rafts.

On the left bank of the river, a short distance from Pointe Coupee, is the village of the *Tonikas*, a savage nation which is likewise greatly attached to the French. Their chiefs are always ready to mobilize their warriors in order to be our allies in war. Their last chief, who was very brave, was dangerously wounded in an expedition against the Natchez, and by reason of the services he had rendered to the King, his Majesty honored him with the brevet of Brigadier of the Armies of the Red Men. In addition he decorated him with a blue ribbon from which hung a silver medal containing a picture of Paris, and he likewise received a golden-head cane.

After the massacre of the French by the Natchez, of which I will give an account later, a deputation from this nation was sent to make peace with the great chief of the *Tonikas*. The latter at once communicated their offer to the Commander General of the French, but the Natchez, not awaiting the answer, assassinated the *Tonikas*,

commencing with their great chief. The latter were awaiting our orders and our assistance, and suffered the death and loss of many of their subjects. We have never ceased to sorrow over the loss of these good savages, with all their good qualities and splendid behavior.

After traveling for two hundred and forty miles from New Orleans, we arrived at the post of the Natchez. Twenty years ago this was a considerable establishment, but it is of little consequence today.

The fort is situated on an eminence which dominates the Mississippi, which may be controlled at that point by a cannon shot. The land in this part of the colony is most elevated; it is the most fertile in the country, and is cultivated in cotton, tobacco and maize.

I sojourned for sometime at this post, which is commanded by the Chevalier d'Organ, a natural son of the Prince of Lambex, of the House of Lorraine.

The Natchez, who were once powerful there, are a considerable people. They consist of several villages, governed by individual chiefs, who in turn obey a great chief, the head of their nation. All their princes bear the name of *Sun*, and there were five hundred of these, all allies of the *Great Sun*, their common sovereign. This latter bore on his breast the image of the sun, from whom he pretended to be a descendant, and which was adored under the name of *Ovachil*, which meant "the very great fire," or the "supreme fire."

The religion followed by the Natchez was one of great dignity. The Great Priest arose before the rise of the sun, and marched at the head of his people in a serious step, bearing the calumet of peace in his hands before him. He smoked it in honor of the sun, and look the first puff of tobacco. As soon as the sun started to rise, the priests' assistants successively succeeded to this honor, smoking, and raising their arms towards heaven. They then debased themselves to the earth. The women, bearing their children in their arms, assumed a similar religious posture.

During their harvest season, which occurred in the month of July, the Natchez celebrated a very great feast. They commenced by blackening their faces, they did not eat for three hours after mid-day, after which they purified themselves by baths. Then the eldest person of the nation offered to the god the choicest of their harvests and of their fruits.

They had a temple, where they kept an eternal fire burning. The priests were entrusted with its care; they could not serve this fire except by the wood of one tree. If through ill luck they were

prevented from so doing, consternation reigned in the nation, and the negligent priests were put to death, but this was a very rare event. These guardians were always able to readily renew the sacred fire, under the pretext of lighting their calumets; for they were allowed to use the sacred fire for this purpose.

The sovereign at death was accompanied to his tomb by his wives and by several of his subjects. The little *Suns* were bound to follow the same custom. The law condemned to death any Natchez who married a daughter of the Sun, together with this spouse.

Among their tribe was a savage named Eteacteal, who would not submit to this law. He contracted an alliance with one of the *Suns*. His wife fell sick, and while she was dying he fled, embarking on a pirogue and going to New Orleans. He put himself under the protection of the Governor, who was then M. de Bienville, offering to be his huntsman. Bienville accepted this service, and interceded for him with the Natchez, who told Bienville that he had nothing to fear, for the ceremony had been performed, he was not to be found, and he was no longer a desirable prize.

Etteacteal, reassured, returned to his nation, without making his home there, and made several voyages there. On one of these he arrived when the Sun Stinging Serpent, a brother of the Grand Sun, died. This noble was a relative of Etteacteal's deceased wife, and had sworn revenge on Etteacteal. Bienville had returned to France, and the sovereign of the Natchez decided that the absence of the protector had revoked the agreement of protection that had been given Etteacteal. He was arrested, and was brought into the cabin of the Great War Chief, with other victims to be sacrificed in honor of Stinging Serpent, where he became very melancholy. The favorite wife of the deceased had been immolated for the sacrifice, and saw through through her half closed eyes his fear of death. Appearing to be impatient to join her spouse, and witnessing the lamentations of Etteacteal, she said to him:

"Are you not a warrior?"

"Yes," he said, "I am."

"Nevertheless," she said, "you weep. Life seems so precious to you. Since that is the case, it is not proper that you should come with us. Go with the women."

"Certainly life is precious to me," responded Etteacteal, "I should like to remain on this earth for a while, at least until the death of the Grand Sun, and I will then die with him."

"Go then," she said in scorn, "you are not fit to come with us, for your heart will remain behind on the earth. Get away immediately, so that I cannot see you."

Etteacteal needed no further urging. He disappeared like lightning. Three old women, two of whom were his relatives, offered to pay his debt. Their age and their infirmities did not give them much pleasure in life, and none of them had had the use of their limbs for a long time. The two relatives of Etteacteal had no more gray hair than women of fifty-five have in France. The other old woman, aged one hundred and twenty-years, had three white hairs, which was very rare among the savages, and none of the three was entirely wrinkled. They were executed in the early hours of the night; one by the side of Stinging Serpent, and the others at the Temple.

They died by passing a loose cord around their neck, eight male relatives drawing the cord tight, four on each side. It was not necessary for the relatives to act, but they gained nobility by so doing, and the executions only took a second.

The generosity of these women reinstated Etteacteal as a warrior of the tribe, and he was restored to his honors, which he had lost by his fear of death. He lived quietly after this, profiting by his sojourn among the French, and became a priest and medicine man of the tribe, using his learning to dupe his compatriots.

The day following this execution, the funeral ceremonies took place. The hour having arrived, the grand master of the ceremonies proceeded to the cabin decorated with the ornaments which indicated his position. The victims, who were to accompany the prince in his journey to the country of the spirits, were stoic. These consisted of the favoraite wife of the deceased, and one other wife, his chancellor, his doctor, his head servant, and several old people who volunteered for this serivce.

The favorite had entertained several Frenchmen at the house of the Grand Sun, and she bade them adieu. She then brought before her the *Suns* of two sexes, her children, and she addressed them in these words:

"My children, this is the day when I detach myself from your arms to follow in the footsteps of your father, who awaits me in the country of the spirits. It would wound my duty and my spirit if you should surrender to your tears. I have done enough for you. I have carried you in my body, I have fed you from my breasts. Issue of his blood, nourished at my breast, do you then give way to tears? Rejoice that you will be *Suns* and warriors. You must follow the

examples of endurance and of courage that is typical of the nation. Go, my children, I leave you without your further needing me, and you will not lack friends. Your father's friends and my friends are your friends. I entrust you to their care. As to the French, they have a tender heart, and they are generous. Make yourselves worthy of their esteem, and do not make yourselves unworthy of your own race. Always deal with them without deceit, and never implore to them with baseness.

"And you, French," she added, turning to our officers, "I recommend my children to you, whom I leave orphans. They know you only as fathers. It is your duty to protect them."

She then turned aside, and followed by her retinue, returned to her husband's cabin with the most wonderful composure imaginable.

Among the victims who joined her voluntarily was a noble woman, whose friendship for Stinging Serpent caused her desire to join him in the other world. The Europeans described her as *The Glorious*, because of her majestic carriage and of her splendid air, and because she only associated with the most distinguished of the French. They regretted her very much, for she had an acquaintance with many simple remedies, which served to save many of our lives during our illnesses. The subsequent spectacle only filled us with sadness and with horror. The favorite wife of the deceased drew herself up with a smile and said:

"I die without fear. Sorrow poisoned my last hours. I recommend my children to you. When you go among them, noble Frenchmen, remember that you loved their father and mother, who were your sincere friends and who loved you up to the moment of the tomb. The master of my life calls me, and in a little while I shall join him. I see your hearts sorrow at the sight of his dead body. Do not worry, for we shall always be friends in the country of the spirits, where one never dies."

At the hour fixed for the ceremony little balls of tobacco were given the victims to chew, and they were then strangled. They lay alongside of the deceased, the favorite on the right, the other wife on the left, and the remaining victims according to their rank.

The sad words of the favorite brought tears to the eyes of the French; they had done all they could to save the life of the Grand Sun at the request of the government. This sovereign was furious at the thought of death.. He pointed his gun at the sun, who was his presumptive heir, and would have shot him as well as himself. The cabin was full of Suns, Nobles, and Confidants, all of whom were trembling. (Among the savages, the Suns occupy the first

rank as relatives of the Grand Sun; then are the Nobles, after them the Confidants, and finally the people. The wives of all these are called the nobility.) The French reassured them, they detached the locks of the Grand Sun's musket, and filled the barrel of his gun with water, thus effectually disabling it for some time.

When the Suns saw that the life of their future sovereign was saved, they thanked the French by grasping their hands, but saying nothing, a complete silence reigning among all those who were present.

The wife of the Grand Sun during this adventure was shaking with fright. Upon being asked if she was ill, she said very loudly: "Yes, I am." Then she added in a lower tone, "If the French leave here, my husband will die, and all the Natchez will die. Remain then, brave French, for your words have the force of whips. If you go now, what will you have done? But you are his true friends, and you are also his brother's true friends." The law forces the Grand Sun's spouse to follow him to the grave, which was doubtless the motive for her fear as well as her praise of the French, who interceded for her life.

The Grand Sun extended his hand to the officers, and said: "My friends, my heart is so weak that my eyes, although open, cannot see you about. My lips only open to thank you. Pray pardon my extreme illness."

The French answered that they were not offended, which left him quiet, but they said they would no longer be friends unless he ordered the relighting of all the fires, which had been put out by his instructions as is always the case upon the death of a sovereign. This he did, and they did not leave him until after the burial of his brother, which I have just described.

He shook hands with each one of the French, and said to them: "Since all the chiefs and noble officers desire that I shall remain on earth, I will not kill myself. Let the fires be relit on the fields, and I will wait until death calls me to join my brother. This will soon be as I am old, and until this time, I will march with the French. Without them I would have departed with my brother, and the roads would have been covered with dead bodies."

This prince only survived Stinging Serpent by a year, and his nephew succeeded him. The reign of this young prince was a very sad one for the colony, for he did not follow the adjurations of his mother, but brought out the secret conjuration against our nation which she had loved so well.

In justice to these savages, however, it should be said that the campaign they undertook to destroy the French was not inspired by discontent or greed, but that it was caused by the evil conduct of an officer who insulted these people, and aroused their anger when it was his duty to conciliate them. They were free men remaining quietly in the country of their ancestors, and were treated tyrannically by the people whom they had received.

The Sieur de Chepar, the commandant of the Natchez post, neglected to encourage the friendship of the French and the savages entrusted to his care. He maltreated all those whom he did not sentence as criminals. He entrusted the most important posts to Sergeants and to Corporals. Preferences of this sort, contrary to military laws, sufficed to ruin discipline among the soldiers.

M. Dumont, his second officer, protested to him over the turn things were taking, but de Chepar responded by throwing Dumont's representations in the fire, and by putting Dumont in irons. As soon as Dumont was free, he left for the capital and laid his complaints before Perrier, then Governor of Louisiana. De Chepar was recalled, and suspended from his command, but his intrigues and his friends at court protected him; he was acquitted, and sent back to his command.

This mortification not being corrected, it was followed by continued disconduct both among the French, and among the savages. The latter were angered, and suffered the worst indignities from him. De Chepar, anxious to make his fortune as soon as he could, summoned the Sun of a village called the Apple, and ordered him to retire from it with his people, and to abandon the land whereon they lived, which was of great value. The Cacique answered him that the bones of their ancestors rested there. These reasons were futile. The French commandant ordered the Grand Sun to evacuate the village, and threatened to send him to New Orleans manacled in hands and feet if he did not promptly obey. This officer imagined he could talk to this chief as he would to a slave, and he did not reflect that he spoke to a man accustomed to command, and who exercised a despotic authority over his subjects.

The Grand Sun listened and departed without answering him. He assembled his Council, who authorized him to tell de Chepar that they wished first to lay out the plan of a new village before leaving the Apple, and that this would require a period of two moons.

This resolution being adopted was reported to the commandant, who rebuffed the envoys, and threatened their people with cruel punishments if they did not evacuate the village within short order.

The Council heard this order, and decided that they would pretend to submit to these discourteous hosts, but that they would report they must have time to settle elsewhere. To placate de Chepar, and to delay matters, they offered to pay him tribute during this period of maize, deer skins, furs, and other valuable commodities. The avidity of the commandant led him into the trap, and he accepted the proposition, saying to them that he only did so to oblige their nation whom he loved, and because of the friendship they had always borne for the French.

The Sun was not duped by this show of disinterestedness. He assembled his Council, and told them of the delay which had been accorded them, which they should put to good purpose in order to escape the onerous tribute imposed on them, as well as the tyrannical domination of the French. He impressed upon them the necessity of keeping their plans secret, of making instant preparations for defense, and of all the while continuing their show of amity and confidence with and in the French until all was ready for action.

For five or six days, the nobles consulted among themselves, and then reassembled, resolving unanimously to kill every Frenchman. The eldest member of the Council reported this resolution to the chief as follows:

"For a long time we have seen that the vicinity of the French has brought us more evil than good. We old people have long seen this, but our youngers would not see it. The European merchandise gives pleasure to our young, but what good purpose does it serve? To seduce our wives, to corrupt the morals of the nation, to debauch our girls, and to make the others drunk and faint hearted. Our young boys are in the same condition. The married men must kill instead of working that they might furnish luxuries to their wives. Before the French came to our country we were men, we were content with what we had, we marched boldly along all the highways, because then we were masters. But today we are irresolute, fearing to discover thorns. We march like slaves, as we will soon be, since we are already treated as such. When they are a little stronger, they will no longer dissemble, they will put us in irons. Their chief has already threatened us with this affront, and is not death preferable to slavery?"

Here the orator paused, and then continued in a more vigorous tone:

"Why do we wait? Shall we permit the French to increase until they are so strong that we cannot resist them? What will the other nations say? We pass as the most spiritual of the red men; they say,

with good reason, that we have more religion than the other nations. Why then await a disadvantage? Let us free ourselves, and we may then say we are true men. Let us commence today to prepare. Let us prepare to live among our women without telling them the reason. Let us bear the calumet of peace to all the nations of this country. Let them understand that the French only aspire to enslave our continent. As they are stronger in our neighborhood than in others, we will be the first to receive their chains. When they have succeeded in this, they will do likewise with all the other nations. Let us show them how interested they are in preventing this ill from happening. Let all the nations join in union to execute this plan so that the French will be exterminated by all at one and the same hour. Let the time of this massacre be that day which ends the period of grace obtained by us from their chief. We will then free ourselves from the tribute they have imposed upon us, and we will recover the merchandise we have given them. On this great day of liberty our warriors will sleep with their arms by the fire. The Natchez will appear among the French, and there will be three or four of us in each house to one of that nation. We will carry our arms and munitions, pretending that it is a great hunt, being the celebration of some great feast. We will promise to bring them deer. The shot of the gun which will be fired at the Commandant of the fort will be the general signal to fall on all the French. In order to obtain this greatest success by this attack, the other nations should join us in a general massacre. Each man must be prepared with paillets of wood, so as to be ready for the carnage and for the fire. Once we have destroyed our enemies, it will be easy to prevent them from retaking their old habitations. Caution is necessary, and a wise man should supervise our preparations."

With these words, the orator closed, the elders applauded him, the Sun of The Apple added this suggestion: That he was the subject of the injustice of the Sieur de Chepar, and that he personally should punish de Chepar, which would be a proper vengenace. The council hid their plans from their wives, and after placing all of the facts concerning the outrage before the Grand Sun, of the Natchez, they finally obtained this just man's approval and consent. The Council of the Suns and the Noble Elders of the savages again met in an open field, reaffirmed the plan, and sent embassies to the neigboring nations.

Notwithstanding the profound secrecy of the councils, the people of the savages became uneasy, and the women of the nation inquired as to meaning of these conferences. A woman Sun called

Spear Arm chafed at the silence imposed on her, and was told that it was an order to renew treaties with the neighboring nations. But this did not appease her curiosity, and finally journeying to The Apple, she discovered the real plans. At a meeting of the Council, she upbraided them, and protested against the attack, but her protests were to no avail.

She was in love with the Sieur Macé, an ensign of the garrison at the fort of Natchez, and she communicated the entire plot to him. Macé at once went to de Chepar, who placed him under arrest for spreading a false alarm. Seven inhabitants, learning the plan from Macé, requested de Chepar to be permitted to bear arms so as to protect themselves against surprises. The Commandant put them in irons, and was angry that such doubts had been expressed against a nation which had expressed itself so kindly towards him. He did not once suspect that savages of this sort could so adroitly deceive him.

Spear Arm saw with regret that her warnings were useless. She then entered the temple, and destroyed many of their packets of wood, and when the savages discovered this they hastened their plans, and commenced the attack without delay.

On December 28, 1729, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the savages appeared among the French, and at the prearranged signal immediately commenced their onslaught. The two de Kollys, principal agents of the Company of the Indies, were the first killed. The house of M. de la Loire des Ursins made some resistance, his servants killing seven savages before falling.

M. des Ursins, who had gone out on his horse, returned at the first sound of firing, and was met by a troop of savages. He defended himself valiantly, and killed four savages before being pierced through the body. The surprise attack was altogether successful. Nearly two thousand men were killed; only twenty escaped together with five or six negroes, most of those escaping being wounded. One hundred and fifty children, ninety women, and many negroes were made slaves in the hope of selling them to the English at Carolina.

During the massacre the Grand Chief was tranquilly sitting under a shed of the Company of the Indies, where they brought him the head of the Commandant as well as that of the principal Frenchmen, which they placed in a row with the Commandant's in the center. All the other heads were piled up, while the bodies remained without sepulchre and were the prey of vultures. They opened the stomachs of the pregnant women, and killed nearly all the others who had infants at their breasts, because they were affected

by their cries and their tears. They made slaves of all the others, and treated them with the utmost shame.

Some persons claim that de Chepar was elusive enough to be the last to perish, and that he was a spectator at this horrible carnage. He saw then, but too late, the wisdom of the advice that had been given him. The savages said that a dog such as he was unworthy to perish at the hands of their warriors. He was given to the *Puants*, or the servants of the Natchez, who killed him by beating him with a whip, after which they cut off his head.

Such was the fate of the man who would listen only to his cruel desires, his avarice, and his ambition. There was not a Frenchman who escaped from this massacre who would hesitate to say that he was justly punished, and that he suffered from not properly treating a naturally barbaric people. A good administration would have naturally attached them to the French, who were once in great favor with them. Thus it is that the misdeeds of one man often result in the loss of an entire colony, and we cannot be too careful in the choice of the men who are to be commanders in this country.

The savages, notwithstanding the ideas formed about them, are not always easy to manage. One must be tactful, politic, and wise in order to obtain their good will, and they cannot be insulted with impunity. This story is the proof. And without a hint from providence it would have been even more disastrous. Without doubt, we should be grateful to *Spear Arm*, and should have extended her some witness of our appreciation.

The nations who were in the plot with the Natchez did not follow their stratagem against the French. The *Chocta* nation imagined that the Natchez did not wish them to take part in the assault on the French, and to show the latter that they did not join in the conspiracy, they allied themselves with the French to punish the Natchez. The Natchez in this combat surrendered the French women and the negroes which they had enslaved. Some time after they were attacked in their defenses, but during a tempest they were able to escape, and left the country. We captured nearly a thousand of them, bringing them to New Orleans, and then sending them to the Isle of St. Domingo. Among these prisoners were the Grand Sun, his wife, and his mother, whom we have hitherto described. The Grand Sun disavowed this massacre. He said that the nation had taken advantage of his youth to strike this blow, that he had always loved the French, and that the attack had been caused by the despair and vexations of a people who had always been free. The French were satisfied with his defense, and treated him, his mother, and his

wife with great kindness, but as we did not return them to their country, they soon died of sorrow. We have inhabited this country since that time. The Natchez, pursued by the French, were too feeble to resist them, and they took refuge among the *Tchicachats*, among whom they found an asylum.

Since that time we have had a fort there, but the country is no longer attractive to the savages, and they have not re-established themselves there.



FIRST OFFICIAL FLAG OF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS.

Address of Mr. W. J. Waguespack, in presenting the Flag to the City of New Orleans:

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Commission Council of New Orleans:

On behalf of the Bienville Bi-Centennial Committee, we have the pleasure and it is our distinguished privilege to present to the City of New Orleans this, its first official flag. It commemorates, as you see, the two hundredth birthday of New Orleans, it symbolizes the ideals of good government and the triumph of Democracy over autocracy and it is the emblem of the Queen City of the South.

Accept this flag, Mr. Mayor, and let it float above this historical City Hall, for it is eminently proper that your administration, which has been so true and faithful to the best interests of the people of New Orleans, and so splendid in every sphere of its activity, should be the one to unfurl it to the breeze, because, while it commemorates the Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans, it pre-eminently symbolizes the ideals of good government.

And when, your great grand-children and our great grand-children meet beneath its folds upon this spot one hundred years hence, to celebrate this flag's own centennial, may it still float as the emblem of triumphant Democracy and may its folds record a series of administrations as splendid as this which gives it birth today.

Address of Mr. W. J. Waguespack, delivered on the balcony of City Hall:

Mr. Mayor, Gentlemen of the Council,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The flag which has just been unfurled to the breeze on this Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans, commemorates the birthday and the infancy of New Orleans, while it symbolizes the ideals of good government and the triumph of DEMOCRACY.

Miss Ida Barrow was the first one who conceived the thought that New Orleans should have an official flag. It was Mr. W. O. Hart who transmitted Miss Barrow's inspiration to the Executive Committee in charge of the Bi-Centennial celebration of the founding of New Orleans. The Flag Committee was thereupon appointed to select some suitable emblem for a flag. This Committee instituted a contest by offering a gold medal for the best design.

Three hundred and seventy-nine designs were submitted to the consideration of the Committee; three hundred and seventy-nine brilliant ideas inspired by the past history of New Orleans, by her present beauty and prosperity, and by prophetic visions of her future greatness.

To typify the history of New Orleans, under each flag, some of the contestants judiciously invoked as symbols the colors of the United States, of France and of Spain grouped with the crescent of New Orleans in appropriate and happy combinations; combinations as numerous and varied as the imagination can conceive.

Some invoked as symbols, the rising sun, the shining stars and the crescent, some golden crowns upon the red, white or blue as emblems of the Queen City, others the saintly Maid of Orleans in full armour, gates of the sea, steamers of the ocean

entering the gate of the sea, the immaculate magnolia, the historical fleurs-de-lis, the dove of peace, the sacrificial pelican feeding her young or poised for flight over the blue waters, the mocking bird pouring out of her marvelous throat the songs of all the birds of forest and field.

Many other symbols there were too numerous to mention here and now; but most of them will find a home in the Cabildo and adorn the archives of the historical society in this generation and we think in generations yet unborn.

Such was the wealth of strikingly beautiful and brilliant ideas spread before us! We were dazzled and we wished that, either the great burden of making a choice could have been lifted off our shoulders or that we had had a dozen medals to award,

After long and conscientious consideration and analysis, by the process of elimination, the choice dwindled down at last to two ideas, but, as to those we were hopelessly divided and we were compelled to resolve to award two medals. Upon still further consideration, however, we determined to try a final contest between the two victors, but that test resulted in confirming us more strongly in the conviction that the conception of the combination of ideas embodied now in this flag was the property of both contestants and that the awarding of two medals was inevitable.

And why is it that out of such wealth of brilliant conceptions we selected this design? It was because of the happy combination of ideas which it symbolizes.

The white field is the symbol of purity of government, from which alone justice and equality can flow; the blue stripe is liberty, the offspring of purity of government without which there could be no liberty; the crimson or red is fraternity—one blood —or Union, which is also the offspring of justice and equality, without which there can be no Union; the white field of purity is five times as large as the stripe of liberty and fraternity, because it is the mother of both; the combination of these three fundamental principles of good government constitutes DEMOCRACY.

The three fleurs-de-lis historically grouped in triangular form represent the birth and the infancy of New Orleans under the banner of the three fleurs-de-lis; but these having since been snatched from the blue field of the banner of autocracy, now rest upon the field of purity and equality and symbolize DEMOCRACY triumphant over autocracy.

The red, white and blue are the colors of the United States but are also the colors of France, and as New Orleans is the daughter of both, they are so grouped as to constitute a new and separate entity, which is now the flag of New Orleans, distinct and separate from the flag of the United States, and distinct and separate from the flag of France, and yet bearing the three essential colors of both, just like man through whose veins though the blood of both parents courses, yet is he a separate entity from both.

And now, we take pleasure in announcing that the two designs accepted by the Committee were those submitted by Messrs. Bernard Barry and Gus. Couret, both sons and citizens of New Orleans, and we now proclaim them victors ex-equo and award to each the Bi-Centennial gold medal.

RAISING THE AMERICAN FLAG AT JACKSON SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1918.

Address delivered by Hon. André Lafargue, at Jackson Square, on January 8, 1918:

My fellow American Citizens:

Need I say that I am proud and happy to be with you all again, after having crossed the danger zones of the mighty Atlantic for the purpose of conveying to the great city of Paris and to those who in the "days that tried men's souls," stood by us magnanimously and generously, your message of friendship and of unalterable loyalty?

I don't think so. One who is born and raised under the sun-kissed heavens of Louisiana, one whose life has been spent in the charming and alluring metropolis that stands on the present site, does not have to tell his fellow townsmen that he is glad to return to good old New Orleans and its open hearted, public spirited and broad minded inhabitants. I can assure you that I am highly pleased to have come back to my home town, where almost each person that I run across is a friendly one and where each nook and corner that I gaze upon is one that brings back fond recollections and delightful memories. And I am indeed doubly happy and proud to be given an opportunity to tell you all this on the historic anniversary which we are gathered here to celebrate and on this the most historic spot of our dear city.

One hundred and three years have elapsed since the deep booming of artillery and the rattling of musketry shook the near by plains of Chalmette and gave warning to the world at large that the sons of Liberty, of Truth and of Justice, under the leadership of their peerless general, Andrew Jackson, were battling against the trained and seasoned veterans of Wellington. One hundred and three years have rolled by and lo! the curtain of time has risen again and looking across the broad Atlantic we can see the gallant manhood of America, its youth and its chivalry, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their traditional friends, the French, and with their former brave enemies, the English, somewhere in France, for the defence and the preservation of the highest ideals that humanity and civilization have stood for. Liberty loving England of today has joined hands with the democratic sons of America and France and she is fighting today for the same principles for which we stood against her in embattled array one hundred and three years ago; we can well afford to celebrate this anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans without its bringing up any but a feeling of renewed and intense friendship between America and that great bulwark of present day civilization—England. I am sure that the public spirited and broad minded generation that presently lives in England would unhesitatingly join us in paying a great tribute of homage and of gratitude to the illustrious general whose valor and achievements have put the "name of New Orleans" on the American flag, where it shines with the same lustre as that of "Yorktown, Bunker Hill," "Buena Vista" or "Palo Alto."

Men like Jackson have lived not only to shed great glory and renown upon their country and their fellow men but as an exemplar for future generations. We are living at a time when the destinies of the world are trembling in the balance and when everything that we hold dear and sacred is being seriously threatened by an unscrupulous foe. We should seize upon opportunities like the present one to dwell

upon the example set by our great American statesmen and warriors and derive from such meditation renewed inspiration to greater and nobler efforts.

The name of Andrew Jackson stands in history for valor, consistency and exalted patriotism; three great civic virtues which we need, to go through the present ordeal with a stout heart and an unflinching determination of purpose.

Jackson, when but a youth, was left practically alone to fight the battle of life and we know that he has done so with marked success. Why? Because he practiced incessantly the three great virtues that I have just referred to: Valor, consistency and patriotism. He was but a mortal and consequently had all the failings and weaknesses that human beings are heir to. There were times in his career when he made errors of judgment and when he failed to measure up to the greatness which he had given such evidence of at other stages of his life, but he was above everything else a real, red blooded, energetic American, and were he alive today he would unquestionably be one of the leaders under whose command our boys "somewhere in France" are achieving victory and undying fame. For Jackson was essentially a brave man—physically and morally—and bravery of that type is what counts today. When fighting for his country Jackson knew that he was right and as his country founded on the eternal principles of justice, truth and humanity could do no wrong, he went into the battle line fearlessly and unhesitatingly, not only because he did not fear death but because he knew that he was right and that consciousness alone sufficed to make him face the foe without a tremor and with complete serenity. The cause of righteousness was one that he endeavored to uphold at all times.

His tenaciousness of purpose was one of the dominating traits of his character. He would set himself a task and never rested satisfied until he had fully accomplished it, notwithstanding the many obstacles that he would have to surmount. His spirit of perseverance stood him in good stead both as a warrior and as a statesman, and were he alive today he would unquestionably tell us that we must exercise this great virtue of perseverance if we mean to carry out successfully the great work that we have undertaken, if we are to be efficient allies of those who for the last forty months have never ceased to toil valiantly and painstakingly for the salvation of the human race.

It was when a situation seemed crtitical, nay desperate, that Jackson's indomitable will and spirit of perseverance helped him to carry the day and to snatch as it were victory from defeat. The odds against him at the Battle of New Orleans were tremendous, but Jackson came out of the ordeal stubbornly victorious, if I may so express myself.

He was indeed a great apostle of perserverance and we should remember on an occasion like the present one that the gigantic conflict that we have entered into calls for a full display of that virtue. As our illustrious and high-minded President, Woodrow Wilson, has well and truly said: "We are in this fight to a finish." We must see it through. Let us not forget that. We cannot indeed forget it, if we follow the example of perseverance set us by Andrew Jackson.

Jackson, we should also remember, was first and above all for his country. He came of good sturdy fighting stock and lived as a young man in the stirring days of the War for Independence. He was an ardent patriot and believed in his country first, last and all the time. In fact he possessed preeminently, as I have already said, three great qualities of mind and heart which made him a leader of men and a sterling patriot.

His life is one that we may well ponder over in these stirring times and his example one that we should endeavor to follow. He was a fighter in the true sense

of the word and as you know we are called upon to be fighters just now. We must bear in mind as Rudyard Kipling has so properly put it at the beginning of this war, that we are fighting for "All that we have and for all that we are," and if we mean to preserve "all that we have and all that we are," if our great democractic institutions, our political fabric, our thriving communities and our sacred firesides are not to crumble and be ground under the despotic heel of Teutonic tyranny and infamy, we must, like Jackson, be brave, persevering and patriotic.



LE SPECTACLE DE LA RUE ST. PIERRE

By Nellie Warner Price.

(Read before the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans February 19, 1918.)

The history of New Orleans' first opera house is included in the period from 1793 to 1811. I have compiled data which show conclusively that the building first designated as a theater or hall of comedy in New Orleans was the same building known subsequently as LE SPECTACLE DE LA RUE ST. PIERRE where opera as well as drama flourished actively from 1806 to 1811.

In gathering the facts necessary for this research work many difficulties were encountered. The original material is scattered, unclassified, disconnected and devoid of descriptive detail. It is, consequently, easy to understand why the pamphlets and articles which have appeared on this subject are inadequate.

Volumes of history and travel records in the Howard Memorial and Public Libraries contain few accounts of the earliest operatic life in New Orleans. Old newspaper files of that era are incomplete. Contemporaneous notarial records are rarely indexed; many have been damaged and well nigh obliterated by fire and water. Fortunately, ordinances of the City Council have been carefully preserved in the City Archives. From these documents and from early newspapers I have obtained the greatest part of my material.

The first regular newspaper published in New Orleans made its appearance in 1794 under the name of *"Le Moniteur de la Louisiane."* Most diligent search has failed to unearth any copies of this paper previous to the year 1802. In the Cabildo is found the first bound file of *Le Moniteur*. This file contains papers dated from Saturday, August 14, 1802, to Saturday, November 26, 1803, inclusive. The only other files of *Le Moniteur* are in the Archives of the City Hall, beginning Wednesday, October 22, 1806. The missing papers previous to 1802 and those of the years 1803, 1804 and 1805 may exist somewhere and their discovery would be of great value.

Also in the City Archives, dating from 1804, are files of the *Louisiana Gazette*, a New Orleans paper printed in English but devoid of any information on the subject under consideration. The complete editorial file of *Le Courier de la Louisiane*, a contemporary newspaper, is existent but through no fault of the owner, is inaccessible at present. It has therefore been impossible to compare

the data gathered from *Le Moniteur* with that contained in any other contemporaneous publication.

A brief description of these early *Moniteurs* may be of interest. They appeared bi-weekly in French, with occasional translations into quaint English of an advertisement or notice, and are fascinating to the reader. They are aggravating to the research worker because of the paucity of local items.

The first page is usually filled with maritime news---arrivals and departures of river and ocean boats; notices of sale of cargoes. This is followed by a column or two of Foreign News—a decree from France signed by Bonaparte is noticeable. Locally, the items are confined to the bread tariff, accounts of sessions of the City Council, notices of run-away slaves, sales of slaves and a full page full of advertisements of merchants, hair-dressers, mantua-makers, the dancing teacher, cafes, etc.

The earliest reference in these files to theatrical or operatic affairs is in the Supplement to the issue of the 4th of September, 1802. It is an extensive article headed "Lafon to the Public," and begins with this delightful introduction: "It appears to me superfluous to set forth the utility of comedy. There is no doubt that the theater is an amusement, and without diminishing in anything the entertainment it furnishes, it has a powerful influence on morals; it serves to extend the empire of reason and sentiments of honesty; it represses the follies and corrects the vices of man. No one, it is said, is corrected by theatrical scenes. Woe to him for whom this principle is a truth! But if, indeed, the disposition is incorrigible, the exterior at least is not so. Men touch one another only by their surface and everything would be in order if we could induce those who were born vicious and ridiculous or wicked to be so only within themselves. This is the aim which comedy purports in itself."

Mr. Lafon, this believer in comedy as a philosophy, then describes in great detail his proposal to build a new theater, the funds to be raised by a subscription of ninety (90) shares at $500.00 a share for the "premieres loges" and $450.00 for the "secondes and troisiemes loges." As there are no subsequent evidences to show that Mr. Lafon ever built his theater, interest in his article is concentrated upon the following paragraph: "The stock-holders of the old theater can participate in the new subscription and their old stock will be received for the amount due them as dividends from the sale of the existing property and they shall pay the balance on the new stock which they shall choose."

The theater which existed at this time of Mr. Lafon's project is the same one that is mentioned in a volume, "Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in 1802. By an observer residing in those places. Edited by Berquin-Duvallon." Amidst a tirade against the customs and inhabitants of New Orleans, the writer says: "Near the center of the town is a small theater, built of native wood (another imprudent act relative to fires) where on my arrival in that town I saw some comedies, dramas and certain pieces and opera-comiques of the second-class given fairly well." An addendum corrects "pieces and opera-comiques" to "comedies." The narrative continues: "By some misunderstanding between the civil and military authorities of the colony and the indifference of the citizens and colonists, the play has declined, most of the actors and musicians have scattered, and the theater has been closed since that time. It appears, however, that the cause of the disagreement no longer exists," and after an interim of two years the government is preparing to re-open the theater.

The condition of the building must have been one of the causes for closing the theater. An ordinance of the City Council, session of the 20th of December, 1803, follows:

> "Mr. Christobal de Armas having withdrawn, citizens Hilaire, Bouts and Trozevand entered, experts who had been named to inspect the theater. They brought their written report in which it is proven that the said hall is ready to fall in ruins and that it is dangerous to permit it to be used by the public. That is why the decision was given that the building was condemned and will be closed henceforth until the many needed repairs are made unless they judge it wiser to order the demolishment of it."

The sequel to the above report of the experts is found in the session of the City Council of August 16th, 1804, when "a request from Mr. Fournier was read which asks the privilege of managing and operating the theater in this city and that the Salle de la Comedie be deeded to him for that purpose. Decreed that he shall hold a meeting of the stockholders for the repairs which that hall requires and which shall conform to the ordinances. That meeting ended, the City Council will order a very careful inspection in order that authority in full security may be given to induce the public to attend the theater without fear of accident."

Three months later on the 16th of November, 1804 Mr. Fournier was authorized to announce that the "hall is so repaired that it can be used with safety for public amusements."

In 1805, another examination by experts was ordered because "water to the depth of five or six inches" was found underneath the theater and the hall was "observed to lean very much on one side."

Frequent repairs braced these structural weaknesses for the Spectacle served its destiny as a theater and opera-house without any mishaps.

Turning back to the earliest mention of this theater we find affirmation of its existence in 1793, and of an orchestra in connection with its performance, in the writings of the Louisiana historian, Charles Gayarre.

Describing the period when New Orleans was under the Spanish domination, and referring to the declaration of war by Spain against the new French Republic, he says that in 1793 the majority of the population "were not without secret hopes of being re-annexed to France. The sympathies of the colonists were not concealed; at the theater the celebrated French hymn 'La Marseillaise' was frantically asked from the orchestra." Also, that Governor Baron Carondelet, among other precautionary measures, "put a stop to the practice which had been of late introduced of entertaining the audience of the theater with the exhibtiion of certain martial dances to revolutionary airs."

Gayarre also draws a picture of some of the conditions of the city in these words: "Until the year 1796, the city of New Orleans had never been lighted at night except by the moon, and had been guarded by occasional patrols only when circumstances required it. But on the 30th of March, of that year, the Baron wrote to his government that consideriing the frequent and almost inevitable robberies which were perpetrated in a city of six thousand souls by a multitude of vagabonds of every nation, he had as proposed before, imposed a tax of nine reales a year on every chimney to provide for the expense of the police; that he had formed a body of 13 serenos or watchmen and established eighty lamps; that the cost would be $3,898.00 per year."

In striking contrast to the foregoing conditions was the social life which C. C. Robin, a writer of that period thus describes: "The Louisiana ladies—appeared at—entertainments (given for Madame Laussat, wife of the French Prefect) with a magnificence which was a just cause of astonishment in such a colony, and which might have been successfully compared with any efforts of that sort even in the principal cities of France. The Louisiana ladies who may justly be said to be remarkable for their habitual gravity, are generally tall and exquisitely shaped; the alabaster whiteness of their complexions,

which was admirably set off by their light dresses, adorned with flowers and rich embroidery, gave a fairy-like appearance to these festivities."

I have no proof that opera was given at the Spectacle St. Pierre or in New Orleans before the year 1806. I believe there can be no doubt that it was given in that theater from the very beginning of the existence of that theater in the city.

We have seen that the community was composed of Frecnh and Spanish elements; capable of demanding and singing La Marseillaise and other Revolutionary airs in its amusement place; able to appear at public functions in astonishing magnificence. Such a society, in a word, the music-loving Creoles of New Orleans, would not have supported a theater with an orchestra as they did unless the operas of their day were presented to them on the boards of their own little play-house.

A heterogeneous and sometimes obstreperous element must have been presented in the audiences of the play-house to cause the following police requirements ordered published and posted at the session of November 28th, 1804:

ARTICLE I.

"No person shall present himself to the several entrances of the theater without having a ticket of admittance, and if any be proven to have gained admission by cunning or otherwise or by having used violence, he will be brought before a competent magistrate to be punished by imprisonment or fine in accordance with the varying degree of trouble he may have occasioned."

ARTICLE II.

If good order is to be maintained, the orchestra of the hall cannot be be subject to fanciful demands to play this or that tune; the management binds itself to satisfy the public's demand by the rendition of national airs; no person by bringing up any request in this regard shall disturb either the orchestra or the audience without running the risk of being brought before the magistrate as is provided in the first part of this ordinance."

ARTICLE III.

"Neither shall any one have the right of taking possession of a box or any place which shall have been rented to someone else."

ARTICLE IV.

"No one shall express his approval or his disapproval in such a way as to disturb the calm order of the theater, either by noisy clapping if pleased or by hissing—if displeased."

ARTICLE V.

"No one will be allowed to throw or to pretend to throw oranges or anything else, be it in the theater or in any other part of the hall, nor in a word, shall anyone be allowed to start quarrels with his neighbor or with any one; nor shall anyone insult anybody or come to blows or speak ill of another in order to stir up trouble under penalty of being punished with all the severity allowed by the present ordinance, as a disturber of the public peace."

"The department desires greatly that the order of the theater and the pieces played will contribute to the keeping of harmony, good-will and good manners, for alone on these rests the permanence and success of the institution."

The foregoing facts form a consecutive record of the existence of a theater with orchestra from 1793 to 1806.

There are no records to show that any theater was constructed previous to 1806. The building used in that year for a theater and opera house, described as the Salle de Comedie or Salle de Spectacle, was the same building which has just been traced through the years from 1793 and which served as the home of New Orleans' theatrical and operatic entertainments during those years. From 1806 to 1811 this same building is advertised in "*Le Moniteur*" under the names of "Le Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre" and "Theatre St. Pierre."

I have found many interesting details relative to the performances of the seventy different operas which were performed at the Spectacle St. Pierre from 1806 to 1811 and hope to present them in article form in the future.

Descriptions of the play-house are meager. We have seen from city ordinances that the building comprised a "hall as well as a theater."

Spanish documents of 1799 and 1802 give proof of the existence of boxes in the Comedy previous to 1799.

The *Literary Magazine and American Register* for 1805 contains an article descriptive of New Orleans and mentions "a play-house, which is rather small; it consists of one row of boxes only, with a pit and gallery."

In the *Moniteur* of the 22nd of October, 1806, the director of the Comedy announced that he was "going to build a parquet composed of thirty places, numbered, and locking with a key." This was in use by the 6th of November of that year.

A pamphlet "Le Theatre-Français a la Nouvelle Orleans," by J. G. Baroncelli, was published in 1906.

Better known is the article by Harry B. Loeb, which appeared in the *Musical Courier* of December 16, 1915 under the title "What New Orleans Has Done for French Opera."

Mr. Loeb and Mr. Baroncelli, both state that the Theatre St. Pierre was built on the site of the old Spectacle in 1807.

I have found that operatic and theatrical performances were given at the Spectacle St. Pierre throughout each of the twelve months of the year 1807. No new theater could have been constructed simultaneously with these performances.

Mr. Loeb also states that this "new theater" opened its doors on the 4th of September, 1808, with a melodrama "Le Prince Tekely" followed by an opera "Le Secret". He has quoted Mr. Baroncelli exactly in this statement, excepting the fortunate correction in the date of the above performance from the 14th to the 4th of September.

"Le Secret" was advertised to be given on the 4th of September, 1808. It is also true that the directors did announce to the public that the opening of the theater would take place on that date. But, a previous notice of this opening dating August 24th, 1808, gives the information that "because of the repairs which have been made to the hall as well as to the theater, making it seem like new, the choice of the members who form the troupe, the novelties of all kinds which they have acquired, several new scenes, paintings by Mr. Godefroi" the directors "hope that the theater will be very pleasing and very well attended during the coming season."

The Spectacle St. Pierre was not re-bult but it was designated as the "Theatre St. Pierre" after the renovation of the building as above described.

On the 8th of December, 1810, "the stockholders, owners of the theatre, situated on St. Peter St." advertised that "the land, building and its contents" would be sold at auction—on Friday, December 28th at noon in the auction exchange.

The notarial records and the newspaper files have been thoroughly examined but the result of this sale or proof that it took place remains undiscovered.

The only clue to the possible fate of the Spectacle after 1810 is connected with the question of the exact location of this old theater.

Mr. Loeb and Mr. Baroncelli place the Spectacle in a house on St. Peter street, now bearing the municipal number 716.

The title to Lot 24, where stands the house bearing the number 716 St. Peter Street, has been traced back to 1792. Nowhere in the title deeds is there any mention of any building which was a theater or which was used for entertainments. This does not preclude the possibility that operatic performances could have been given in No. 716, St. Peter Street. It does raise the question, could No. 716, as traced in the chain of title, have been the Spectacle St. Pierre owned

by stockholders, described as a theater, and as such publicly advertised to be sold at auction?

Further reason to question the statement of Mr. Loeb and Mr. Baroncelli is obtained from the only City Directory contemporaneous with the existence of the theater on St. Peter Street.

This is "Whitney's New Orleans Directory and Louisiana and Mississippi Almanack for the year 1811—Printed in New Orleans for the author in 1810." On page 53 of this Directory a terse address is listed: "THEATER, 28 St. Peter Street."

Lot 17, the site of the old number 28 St. Peter Street lies opposite lot 24, the site of the present number 716. The former is on the "down-town" or lower side of St. Peter Street between Royal and Bourbon Streets.

The chain of title of Lot 17 can be traced back only to 1811. On the 28th of March, 1811, one Bartholome Camponel purchased from the Succession of Sebastian Tagiasco, by a notarial act before Stephen Quinones, then a Notary Public for the Parish of Orleans, "a lot with a house bearing the number 28, on St. Peter Street, between Royal and Bourbon."

This title record thus connects the address "Theater, 28 St. Peter Street," and the house number 28 on Lot 17, situated as already described, across the street from house now designated as 716, St. Peter Street.

The thread breaks here. Where did the estate of Sebastian Tagiasco, or where did Sebastian Tagiasco, acquire house number 28 St. Peter Street before 1811?. At the auction sale of the "Theatre St. Pierre" or from some other source?

Mr. Loeb, Mr. Baroncelli, Charles Gayarre and other writers attribute the origin of theatrical and operatic entertainments in New Orleans to San Domingo refugees who had fled to Louisiana in 1791.

It would have been a very plausible result to find this troupe, or other actors and musicians established in a building set aside for them, by the year 1793.

In 1793, a building suitable for a theater and also with space enough for a hall, was designate as the Comedy. An orchestra was connected with its performances from that year. Improvements were made, and at least one row of boxes was built before the year 1799.

This theater was closed in 1803, repaired and opened in 1804—still known only as The Theater or The Comedy. Performances were held in it until the year, 1806.

The climax of the career of this old instituiton reached its height between the year 1806 and 1811 when opera, drama, comedy and vaudeville held the boards of the Spectacle or Theater St. Pierre.

There is no question in the writer's mind that operatic performances were given in this theater from the year 1793 to 1811.



Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents Concerning the Early History of Louisiana.

Abstracts from Old Papers.

Petition Tendered and Approved. New Orleans, October, 21, 1723. Mr. Defontaine shows the evils arising from bad management of land grants, and urges the wisdom of appointing a prudent board of control over the *LeBlanc* grant. He would exclude *Mr. LeBlond* as "unfit for every employment."

Mr. *Desfontaines* is confirmed as general manager of the LeBlanc grants.

One of the largest concessions of the Company of the West, was a large tract of land on the Luzon river, to a company composed of Monsg. LeBlanc, Secretary of State, le Comte de Belleville, the Marquis d'Auleck, and the Chevalier LeBlond de la Tour, Chief of Royal Engineers and Lieut.-General of Louisiana.

The same company acquired a tract of land on the Mississippi, seven miles below New Orleans.

Memorial in Remonstrance. New Orleans, Oct. 23, 1723. Mr. LeBlond de Latour learns that Mr. Desfontaines is on the eve of starting for the *Chouachas* without Mr. LeBlond. Is Mr. Desfontaines thus authorized by Council?

Yes, and the consequences devolve on the ratifying board of control, not on the Judicial Council. Due advertisement is provided, and Mr. LeBlond's objection shall be filed.

NOTE: The Journal Historique mentions a Mr. LeBlond de la Tour, a *brother* of the Chevalier, as director on one of the LeBlanc concessions.

Petition for Sealing Property. New Orleans, Oct. 15, 1723. Mr. Desfontaines, director of the land grant of Mr. LeBlanc and his partners, reports the death of their general manager Monsieur De La Tour, asks authority for placing seals on warehouses at the *Chiuachchats* (Chaouachas in court ruling) grant, and let therefore the Court Recorder and the petitioner betake themselves to said premises for fixing the seals.

So ruled; and the formality to ensue in the presence of the King's Attorney General.

Petition for Inventory. New Orleans, Oct. 23, 1723. Mr. Desfontaines asks that the seals be now removed from property at the *Chouachats*, prior to formal inventory and valuation of goods in storage.

So ruled for Tuesday next, October 26th, when the Attorney General and the Clerk of Court will be present at the proceedings.

NOTE: The Chouachas Indians were found by the French, living on the east bank of the Mississippi a short distance below the site afterwards selected for the sity of New Orleans. The Indians in time withdrew before the encroachments of the white men and settled on the west bank of the river.

Court Order for Inventory. New Orleans, Oct. 25, 1723. Council commissions Monsieur Liette, Captain in command at *Natchez*, to superintend an inventory of titles, papers and goods, provisions, warehouses, boats, merchandise, negroes, horses and tobacco in charge of Mr. Broutin or his delegates. All papers to be safely forwarded to New Orleans and filed in Recorder's office, where copies may be had if needed. Mr. Defontaines shall be recognized and obeyed as general manager of the LeBlanc property.

NOTE: In an early census table of Louisiana, de la Tour de Fontaines is mentioned as director of the LeBlanc concession at Lazon, whose chief administrator was the Chev. LeBlond de la Tour, "ingenieur en chef," of Louisiana.

Petition for Control of Papers. New Orleans, Nov. 5, 1723. Mr. Defontaines asks for an inventory of registers and papers belonging to late Mr. De La Tour, and for access to correspondence having to do with LeBlanc grant; this inclusively of letters yet in transit by way of France.

Approved; save the Council will use discretion in the matter of letters and orders arriving from France to the address of the late M. De la Tour.

Hearing Adjourned. Nov. 10, 1723. Francois Duval, executor of LeBlanc estate *vs.* Dupuy Blanchard.

Defendant in default; cited for next audience.

Notice served by *LaMoriniere.* Nov. 13, 1723.

Decisions in Sundry Civil Suits. New Orleans, Nov. 15, 1723.

1. Antoine Brusle *vs.* Bourbault. Defendant in accord with pronouncement of expert viewers, shall make stated repairs on house in contention. Remaining claims excluded. Costs divided.
2. Duval *vs.* Dupuy. Case referred to Attorney General.

Chenarde *vs.* La Violette. Plaintiff shall prove his ownership of disputed dugout. Defendant's opposition nonsuited, and he shall pay hire of dugout computed from date of detention, plus costs.

3. Binard *vs.* Bourbault. Plaintiff is found accountable for sum claimed and shall pay it. Costs divided.

Suit for Damages. New Orleans, Nov. 18, 1723. Board of ten experts shall be appointed for estimating certain ravages on the grant of Mr. Cantillon.
Parties: Jonathan Darby and ———

Testimony on Alleged Plot. Further examination of Madame Caron. She adheres to her denials of all part and knowledge as regards the plot in question.

Criminal Procedure. New Orleans, Dec. 2, 1723. 3 p. m. Examination of negro Songot, belonging to Mr. Cantillon, on charge of robbery. Inquiry conducted through interpreter *Jacques*, a negro belonging to the Company. Songot came from Martinique, but is not at home in French. Disclaims robbery and lays it to other hands.
Attorney General orders dismissal of Songot.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 2, 1723, 3:30 p. m. Examination of negro *Guaissecamant* (also written *Quiscamant*) on charge of robbery. Answers by interpreter Jacques. Name corresponds to *Langlois* (Englishman".) Prisoner belongs to Mr. Manade. Admits robbery in complicity with negro *Petit Jean*, and this repeatedly.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 2, 1723, 4. p m. Examination of negro *Petit Jean*, on robbery charge. Answers by interpreter Jacques (Jacquot). Lays the robbery to *Quismant* or *Langlois*, but admits receiving the goods and knowing that they were stolen.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 3, 1723, 2 p. m. Councillor Fazende and Clerk of Court visit sites of the robberies in question, being accompanied by prisoners *Langlois* and *Petit Jean*, together with armed escort and interpreter Jacques, to ascertain just how the premises were entered. Namely by removal of mud plaster from window sills.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 3, 1723, 3 p. m. Further examination of negro Petit Jean.

Criminal Procedure. New Orleans, Dec. 3, 1723, 4 p.m. Further examination of negro *Quaissamant*, or Langlois. Admits, as before, the charge of robbery and in complicity with Petit Jean.

Sale of LeBlanc "Movables." Dec. 3, 1723. Auction moved by general manager Defontaines in order to meet expenses and wage accounts, in *copper* specie. Itemized list enumerates 28 blankets, 39 linen tablecloths, 15 pairs of sheets. Proceeds 952 francs.

Signatures: F. Bonnefoi
Francois Bernoudy.
Defontaines.
Rossard, *Recorder.*

Contract of Sale. New Orleans, Dec. 4, 1723. Dreux *freres*, on the one side; Bordieux & Blanchard on the other, agree on transfer of the former firm's boat, rigged and calked, for 1600 francs in *copper*. *Item*, purchasers will carry vendor's freight free of charge on the *first voyage*. Terms, one half cash; residue in three months.

Memorandum of Sale. New Orleans, Dec. 17, 1723. La Forge, edge-tool-maker, conveys a parcel of ground to Cadot, Company's employe, and agrees to build a house thereon in the manner duly set forth in present contract, for 450 francs all told payable as herein defined. In event of broken contract, 100 pounds of flour shall be delivered to Hospital.

Promisory Note. Dec. 17, 1723. Undersigned *Cadot* promises to pay Mr. Lafarge between this date and Easter of of 1724, on account of residue on horse today sold by Mr. L. to Mr. C. under stated provisos, 3000 francs in copper.

Testimony on Brandy Cargo. Dec. 29, 1723. In sequel to a seizure of a lot of brandy at Mr. Massy's, Councillor Jacques Fazende hears witnesses *Joseph Houssaye*, sailor (who went to *La Balize* to learn whether *Courier de Bourbon* had arrived) *Michel de la Haye du Rocher* (saw some casks in transit to New Orleans); *Jean Michel* (knows nought of the matter); and *George Joseph Defontaines* manager of LeBlanc grant. Witness Houssaye saw transfer of 32 or 33 "anchors" (each containing 16 gallons) of brandy and some powder. Mr. Defontaines bought two "anchors" from a boat passing up stream, but knows not who delivered them to him. First witness also gives particulars *after* transfer. *Courier de Bourbon* was a slave ship.

Testimony on "Smuggled" Brandy. Dec. 30, 1723. Jacques Bernard Thore de Maisonneuve, mate of the *Courier de Bourbon*, denies knowledge of the alleged illicit brandy, in all points of the recorded testimony, and

states that he had no brandy on board except for his crew. Implies that Joseph Houssaye had a grudge against him and wanted to "get even."

Order for Corn. Natchez, Feb. 22, 1723. Mr. Broutin asks Mr. de Latour to let Mr. Belcourt have 20 barrels of maize (shelled), and an estimate for such an amount, which Madame Belcourt sold in behalf of *LeBlanc* grant.

Petition of Recovery. New Orleans, January 1, 1724. Mr. Belcourt seeks to collect a bill for 20 barrels of maize (shelled), delivered by Madame B. to Mr. Broutin, former manager of LeBlanc property at Natchez; note dating 22 February, 1723. Let Mr. Defontaines meet the bill in kind or by like amount of shelled corn plus interest. Action allowed.

St. Martin vs. Massy. New Orleans, January 4, 1724. Council orders defendant to refund the given amount (6140 francs), in gold or silver specie current in France as due, on draught in dispute; together with interest computable from date of protest at 5 per cent. *per annum.*

Letter from Mr. Quenot de Trefontaine. Filed January 15, 1724. Dated *Paris,* 6 August, 1723, and written to his brother.

Letter packed with cautions and forebodings in regard to depressed finances and hard times. Beware of the *Company's notes,* liable to shrink from 2/5 to 3/5 below par. Please *negotiate* their own drafts pending in said notes. Remarks on writers' poor health; he will take the *milk* cure at Tours in September. Cost of living in France jumps upward. Reference to business accommodation with *Mr. Kolly & Co.* (Better compromise in time than lose all.)

NOTE:—The Kolly concession was situated at the *Tchoupetoulas* (land of a small tribe of Indians) situated three leagues above New Orleans.

Memorial of Mr. De Pauger. New Orleans, Feb. 3, 1724. *Squatters'* rights urged. Three years ago he took up a lot of unoccupied ground opposite New Orleans, built a house on it and after the death of a negro from over work, installed a German family and five or six laborers whom he has nourished for 15 months and over, with French bread, brandy and meat. After so much outlay and undisturbed possession, he is surprised that Monsieur de Bienville should seek to evict him

him and seize the land for the Company. Let the Council secure Mr. de Pauger in rightful possession.

NOTE:—Mr. Pauger was an engineer sent out as assistant to le Chevalier de La Tour. He made a map of the passes at the mouth of the river, and sent a report to France to prove Bienville's theory that the Mississippi was navigable for large vessels and that New Orleans should be the capital of the Province. He also laid out New Orleans as a regular city; his map of it is the earliest we have.

Bienville while Commandant General of the Province, secured from the Mississippi Company many valuable tracts of land in and around the site of the city he proposed to found. One tract situated in the heart of the city of today called Bienville's plantation, he sold to the Jesuits, who produced upon it the first cane grown in Louisiana.

As Bienville's lands grew valuable and he more and more wealthy, from them, envious reports were circulated that he had misrepresented the facts to obtain them, stating that they were overflowed lands when in truth they were the most valuable that could be conceded. These reports with other reasons caused Bienville's recall to France in 1724.

Summons of Witnesses. New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1724. Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice, at the instance of Mr. Louis Tisserand on several persons to appear on Monday next, Feb. 7, 2 p. m. before Councillor Brusle to testify in given case.

Names: Reffault, employed on fortifications;
Pistache, employe of the Company and his wife, *Dame* Pistache.

Petition to Sue. New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1724. Louis Tixerant moves for action against Mr. Cadot on ground of spreading defamatory reports. Granted.

"Desertion Plot." Researched. New Orleans, Oct. 11, 1723. Examination of Francois Millet (Milliat), who repeats the allegation that Madame Caron informed him of proposed desertion.

"Desertion Plot" Sifted. New Orleans, Oct. 11, 1723. Examination of Marin La Fontaine. He tells particulars of the proposed flight, as imparted to him by Madame Caron.

Deserter Tried and Sentenced. New Orleans, Oct. 21, 1723. Jean Villars, native of Lyons, aged 23, one of the company's sailors, pleads guilty of desertion (from Illinois region) and is condemned to the stocks (on board

"Dromadaire") three times, besides forfeiting six months wages. One LeRoy, baker, who lent his dugout to Jean and four other deserters, is to be heard in Illinois by Commander De Boisbriant. Costs on Villars.

Court Summons. New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1724. At the instance of Jacques Dupre de Terrebonne Sheriff La Moriniere notifies Mr. Grace, not to start on hunting trip before pending suit be tried. Hearing appointed for Feb. 10.

Summons of Witnesses. Feb. 7, 1724. At instance of Mr. Grace, Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice on parties Baquette and wife (Baquette being drummer for garrison at New Orleans) and *Sansregret* Company *skipper*, to appear in suit between Messrs. Grace and Terrebonne, at 8 a. m. Feb. 10.

Tixerant vs. Cadot. New Orleans, Feb. 7, 1724. Hearing of witnesses Pistache and wife and Laurent Riffault (Riffaut) on charge of defamatory writings against plaintiff.

It appears that Cadot admitted writing *some* satiric verses, but denied those of scurrilous nature.

Tixerant vs. Cadot. Date torn. Feb., 1724. Plaintiff files his grievance in the article of defamatory verses. So far as the context points, his *name.* was made the butt of waggish wit. *Tisserand*, weaver.

Petition for Site. Feb. 8, 1724. Messrs. D'Artiguieres & De Benat report a second request of theirs for a site on behalf of Count D'Artagnan.

Feb. 11. Council allows them site No. 66 and refers them for boundary details to Mr. de Chaville, Royal Engineer. Lot must be cleared and staked and stumps cut away to half width of street within two months. Signatures of *Bienville*, Brusle, Fazende, Perry, Fleurian & Estienne (recorder).

M. le Comte d'Artagnan figures in the early census tables as the owner of a large concession six leagues above the city of New Orleans, at "Cannes brulees." D'Arteguieres and Benat were his managers.

Summons of Witnesses. New Orleans, Feb. 9, 1724. Notice served on Messrs. Thomas, Bernoudy, Blanchet and Bidet, to testify in suit between Messrs. Grace and Terrebonne, 8 a. m., Feb. 10.

Squatter's Rights Found Insecure. Feb. 9, 1724. Attorney General Fleurian denies both title and prescriptive

right to Mr de Pauger. He simply encroached where Monsieur de Bienville already held clear title. However, let the parties agree on experts to appraise Mr. de Pauger's improvements; or else let the Council appoint appraisers who willl report in due form.

De Pauger vs. Bienville. New Orleans, Feb. 9, 1724. Formal nonsuiting by the Council of Chevalier Adrien de Pauger in his plea for possession of that "squatters" land on right bank of the Mississippi. Monsieur de Bienville is guaranteed his entire ownership and enjoyment thereof. But the defendant's improveements shall be appraised and reported by expert viewers.

Contract on Transfer of "Boat." Feb. 18, 1724. Parties *Bordier and Dubois* (*also* known as Augustin Dupart) agrees that Bordier shall cede his share in the "boat," which he had bought from one Blanchard, to Dubois, on terms duly understood between the parties. Subjoined note implies that the transfer was effected on basis of 1600 francs.

Summons for Hearing. Feb. 20, 1724. Mr. Marlot, former guard of provisions at New Orleans, is notified to appear and answer with reference to the seizure effected against Officer Pasquier.

Court Hearing on Unlawful Division of Goods. Feb. 23, 1724. Examination of Jean Baptiste Marlot, formerly chief clerk of the Company, aged 25 to 26, with reference to embarking some goods on board the brigantine of one Caron. The goods were those attached, it appears, on the premises of Mr. Pasquier, and were the Company's property. Plea of accommodating his friend Pasquier.

Sentence of Confiscation. Feb. 23, 1724. Reviewing a number of steps in the procedure not thus far shown save by preceding documents of Feb. 20 and 23, 1724, the Attorney General (Fleurian) orders confiscation of the goods in question, to the profit of the Company. They were embarked by Marlot still in the Company's service, without permission or knowledge of the local commander and the Company's directors. Case dates back to December 15, 1722.

Attachment of Goods Repealed. March 3, 1724. Council revokes the seizure decreed against goods at Mr. Pasquier's and orders them restored to him. It would appear that he was not accountable for irregularities in question and stood creditor besides, for equivalant of said goods in the way of a loan to the Company.

De La Garde vs. Graveline. New Orleans, March 4, 1724. Judgment suspended until arrival of first vessels from France. If Mr. de La Garde then still fails to pay, as his note requires, Mr. Graveline may take back the goods sold by himself. But the negroes and cattle in question shall be sold to Mr. La Garde. Mr. G. still being entitled to compensation under final settlement.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Perry, Fleurian.

Petition of Recovery. New Orleans, March 8, 1724. Jean Sabanier seeks to collect from Pierre Dreux, the sum of 100 francs; *item*, 4 Spanish dollars, and a bill of 60 francs due for sundry supplies.

Action allowed.

Petition for Normal Drainage. March 10, 1724. Mr. Ceard, director of Ste. Renne grant (written here Ste. Reynne), complains that Mr. Beaulieu has obstructed a certain *bayou* which gave outlet to the waters of a lake fronting on the *Chapitoulas* site. The overflow now floods Mr. Ceard's land. Moreover, Mr. Lafreniere has drained his ditch into Mr. Ceard's property, and makes the selfish excuse: better flood others than himself. Let normal conditions be restored. Council orders abatement of given nuisances.

NOTE:—The Chauvin brothers, Delery, Beaulieu, and LaFreniere, Canadian followers of the Lemoynes, to Louisiana, were known as hardy intrepid men. The son of La Freniere became the heroic Attorney General of Louisiana, who was executed by O'Reilly for being the leader of the revolution against the Spanish government. His plantation (sequestered by the Spanish government) was evidently on the land in question. It lay above the city of New Orleans (the land of the Tchoupitoulas) and adjoined, if it did not occupy, the present site of Audubon Park.

Petition of Recovery. March 12, 1724. Jean Baptiste Marlot, on behalf of Mr. Pasquier seeks to collect from Mr. *de Nolan* the sum of 240 francs, due on his note of July 17, 1722, plus interest and costs.

Action allowed.

NOTE:—M. de *Noyan* (?) the nephew of Bienville.

Proceedings in Flood Suit. March 15, 1724. Ordering survey and proper safeguards in case of flooded lands, in suit urged by Mr. Ceard, director of Ste. Renne grant. (Formalities only).

Engineers Report on Flooded Lands. Chapitoulas, March 15, 1724. Royal Engineer Chaville and Captain Broutin, engineer, find that the immediate cause of overflow on the *Ste. Reine* grant, is artificial or owing to stoppage of an outlet *bayou* between La Freniere and Beaulieu lands, as also to a ditch opened by Mr. La Freniere to drain his land into the river. But there is evidence, too, by marshy formation that the Mississippi has been *long* accustomed to periodic overflows in those parts. They first recommend reopening of the closed bayou and a a system of levees with *interior* ditching to carry drainage far back from the river; but secondly, for better economy, they suggest a coffer levee.

Memorial of Mr. Ceard. New Orleans, March 19, 1724. He shows in logical detail, and with reference to the natural topography, the mischief inevitably consequent on the operations of Messrs. Chauvin and La Freniere. He and his fellow sufferers from the abnormal overflow can now neither plant their crops, nor yet utilize the adjoining cypress tracts for timber; since these, too, have become flooded. Mr. *Beaulieu* was another party to the mischief by closing his bayou. Redress besought.

Memorial of Mr. La Freniere vs. Mr. Ceard. March 21, 1724. Aiming to show Mr. Ceard in error as regards the cause of overflow. The same bayou was closed a year ago during flood season, and Mr. Ceard lodged no complaint. As to the ditch opening into the river, Mr. La Freniere closed it before the flood reached the flat. (Mr. Ceard has it that Mr. La Freniere *strove* to do so, but too late and in vain.) In short Mr. *Ceard* had only to blame his own negligence; he should have done like the rest. Besides, why did he not halt Mr. Dubreuil, who first started the operations now opposed?

Regulation Providing. New Orleans, March 21, 1724. *Ceard* suit. The Council orders Messrs. Dubreuil, Delery, Beaulieu and La Freniere to combine all their efforts on building a coffer dike along the Ceard grant. This ruling is based on the report of Messrs. Chauville and Broutin, and the work shall be supervised by Mr. Broutin. At low water each party shall make a solid levee close to stream. Parties refusing shall bear damages to lands overflowed. Court costs on Chauvain *freres*.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry.

Ratified by Attorney General Fleurian.

Memorandum of Labor Squads. Levees. March 21, 1724. *Quotas* of negroes to be furnished by six indicated land grants for work on levees and other labors designed to check and correct flooding. Total 150 negroes; to be employed under orders of Captain Broutin, engineer.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry, Fleurian.

Regulation Ordering Levees. New Orleans, March 21, 1724. A more formal repetition of the praribus drafted in succinct terms under same date, together with review of some prior procedure. Water mark with imprint "I. Laroche."

Copy of Agreement. March 21, 1724. Coupard, master carpenter, binds himself to cover with bark, and to weatherboard a house 40 by 20 feet for Mr. De Latour du Pin. Terms 150 francs. Value received in *oil*, (inferentially, *bear's grease* quoted at 8 francs a jug.)

Rulings in Land Suits. March 23, 1724. Dubreuil de Villars, Chauvin Delery, de Beaulieu, La Freniere and Ceard, having requested boundary adjustments, the Council provides for such under direction of Captain Broutin, engineer. Distinct provisos in case of a grant of six six acres formerly allotted to a nephew of Messrs. Chauvin, including landing and right of way for him. (Nephew's name Pierre Chauvin.)

NOTE:—Pierre Chauvin de la Freniere, the future Attorney General of Louisiana.

Petition for Adjustment in Land Suit. March 23, 1724. Joseph Chauvin Delery, referring to his application for frontage of six acres of land at the Chapitoulas woodyard, about March 1719, and to a dispute thereafter between Mr. Ceard and the Chauvin family, bespeaks a compromise arrangement between himself and Mr. Ceard.

NOTE:—Ceard eventually removed to a concession in the higher land of Pointe Coupee on the Mississippi.

Decision in Land Suit. March 23, 1724. A more formal ruling to the same intent as in preceding number; namely, official bounds shall be placed by Captain Broutin and the six acres granted to nephew of Messrs. Chauvin shall be bounded as here prescribed, with provision for a landing and right of way.

Contraband Trade Reported. March 24, 1724. At the instance of the Attorney General who is advised that the officers and crew of the *Chameau* are plying a trade of their own, infringing thereby on the rights of the Company of the Indies, nay more, will accept no currency but Spanish dollars at four francs, whereas the King's Council of State fixes the rate at 7 francs, 10 sous: the Council at New Orleans orders an inspection of the *Chameau* by Mr. Rossard, Clerk of Court and Sheriff LaMoriniere, in presence of Councillors Brusle and Fazende; with a view to ascertaining what contraband goods are on board, so that same may then be seized and exposed in the Company's warehouses.

Contraband Goods Pursued. March 24, 1724. Official search on board the *Chameau* discovers little to the purpose unless a quantity of *hats and satin* prove to violate the law, in the gunner's store room. These goods are seized against Mr. De La Place, in whose trunk they were found.

Remonstrance Against Seizure of Goods. March 24, 1724. Mr. Honore de La Place, clerk of the *Chameau* now in port, is surprised that the Council should attach some *hats* as though belonging to him and intended for sale. He was not expecting to sell the goods, and his own use excepted, he meant simply to accommodate his friends, who had given him funds for the purchase. In short, he did nothing unlawful.

Attachment Ruling Reversed. March 27, 1724. Seeing the small consignment of hats and satin found with Mr. de La Place, the Attorney General annuls the seizure thereof; though this concession shall not let down the general rules against contraband trade, nor shall the public hurry to meet incoming vessels (on contraband errands, seems obviously implied).

Fine Imposed for Killing a Sow. March 27, 1724. Attorney General Fleurian observes that Le Roux, gardener, has made good the value of the brood sow that he killed (property of one Livet), but since this is not a first offence, and Le Roux had also killed a cow, let him be fined 100 francs for the benefit of the small-pox hospital. He shall stay in prison till he satisfy this ruling.

Decisions Filed. March 28, 1724.

1. Paulin Cadot is sentenced to one month in prison for having published libellous matter and "written verses against the honor of the ladies of New

Orleans." Certain 20 verses shall be erased from the Court Records. Costs on Cadot.

2. Fine of 100 francs imposed on Le Roux for benefit of hospital.
3. Seizure annulled in case of Mr. La Place.

Levee Labor Enjoined Under Due Penalty. March 31, 1724. The Attorney General referring to *levee* ruling under date of March 21 and noting the answer (not here detailed) of Messrs. Chauvin, de Beaulieu, Delery, La Freniere and Dubreuil, together with request of Mr. Ceard dated March 30, 1724, commands Messrs. Chauvin *freres* and likewise Dubreuil and Mr. Ceard, to furnish specified quotas of negroes within 24 hours and thereafter till the work be completed. Messrs. Beaulieu and La Freniere shall open the bayou: if they do not comply, they shall be forcibly constrained and punished as disobedient to the King and to his magistrates, and be imprisoned pending further procedure.

Levee Labor Decreed Binding. March 31, 1724. Formal enactment of the Attorney General's mandate of same day.

Signed: Bienville, Fazende, Perry.

Revised Enactment on Flooded Lands. April 3, 1724. Formal amplification of the ruling under preceding number; that is, ampler phrasing of same substance.

Revised Ruling on Flooded Lands. April 3, 1724. Owing to flooded conditions which now prevent the execution of Council's decree dated March 31, it is here amended to the effect that Messrs. Delery, La Freniere, Beaulieu and Dubreuil shall jointly indemnify Mr. Ceard by ceding to him, for this year's use only, 20 acres in readiness for planting and lying nearest to his grant; and the same within two days of the present notice. In default they shall be fined 6000 francs, available to Mr. Ceard and payable in *provisions*.

Salt Quest and Reported Plot Therewith. April 3, 1724. The Attorney General moves investigation of a supposed treasonable plot in connection with an expedition in search of salt, very scrace in the Colony, but obtainable, it was believed, at the "Salt Keys." Mr. Causse, commanding the enterprise, was ordered not to enter *Havana*; but it appears that he not only disobeyed, but engaged in a plot there, shared by some parties at New Orleans. Let the matter be thoroughly probed.

Proceedings instituted: witnesses to be heard and arrests are in order.

Petiton of Defendant in Sow Suit. April 4, 1724. Claude Le Roux, gardener, shows that he should be entitled to full proceeds of the sale of the *sow* that he killed, because he made good the loss and even pawned his clothes to meet the added fine. Sale realized 346 francs; he has been allowed 202 francs and claims the residue. Also, he asks for an estimate of the *damages to his garden* (by sow presumably). Recovery favored.

Petition of Recovery. April 8, 1724. Mr. Martin Desmorges seeks to collect from Madame *veuve* Duflot the sum of 321 francs, plus interest and costs; the same being due, as he relates, on a *gaming* debt contracted by the late Mr. Duflot at *Bayagoulas*. First M. D. went on a trading trip and then fell ill and died; though he had promised to pay the debt.

Action allowed and instituted (by notice to Madame D.)

Statement Filed in Sow Suit. April 12, 1724. Showing that Louis Baudeau attests the fact that the sow killed by Le Roux, gardener, for invading his "deserts," weighed 173 pounds and sold at 40 sous a pound.

Petition to Recover Wages in Arrears. April 22, 1724. Antoine Le Vouf, formerly hired at *Ste. Catherine* grant, claims a wage account of 190 francs yearly or total 570 francs, less what he may have received on account.

Action desired against Mr. Ceard, director.
Granted and notice served on Mr. Ceard.

Petition of Recovery Corn Bill. April 26, 1724. Undersigned *Dumenil*, moves to collect an account of 55½ barrels of corn due him by the LeBlanc grant, as appears by note signed by the late Mr. *Broutin*. Action desired against Manager Defontaine.
Granted and notice served. (Petitioner "will pray God for your health and prosperity.")

Arbitration Verdict. May 2, 1724. Mr. Pierre Chartier, Lord of Baulne, Royal Councillor and Attorney General in the Superior Council of Louisiana Province, and Michel Bossard, Chief Clerk of Court, return their findings, which are also to have the force of a Court ruling, in the dispute between Francois Grace & Jacques Dupre, partners in hunting and fishing; whose partnership is in process of dissolution. The verdict is quite complex and seesaws concessively to either sidein the resultant recommendations. Costs divided.

Petition for Recovery. May 4, 1724. Philippe Vincent Quenot de Trefontaine, advocate in parliament, seeks to collect the sum of 3000 francs in specie (gold and silver) due on a protested draft which was drawn by Mr. Dumanoir, director of the *Deucher and Ste. Catherine* grants; protest being served on Mr. Kolly. Let Mr. Dumanoir be held accountable for principal, interest and costs. Date of draft 17 December, 1722.

Action granted.

NOTE:—The Ste. Catherine grant was comprised in the Kolly concession (in the Natchez territory). In the grant from the Company of the Indies Kolly is described as "Conseiller au Conseil de Finances de S. A. E. de Baviere, demeurant a Paris." Deucher as a "Banquier a Paris." Dumanoir was their manager.

Petition in Matter of Stakes. May 8, 1724. Guillaume Allain and one Bailly, formerly a sailor in the Company's service, own a lot of land together, and were to fence it in common. Allain has furnished the stakes and labor, but now Bailly declines to pay his part as due. Recovery desired.

Action allowed.

Petition of Recovery. May 8, 1724. Jacques Langevin, Canadian, at present in town, moves to collect a bill of goods and money advanced for salaries and wages, from Mr. Rene DuMesnil. Goods included salt, tallow, a pair of slippers, a boiler and "a third of gun."

Petition of Recovery. May 9, 1724. Raphael, a negro belonging to Mr. Dumanoir lent 200 francs (copper) to Mr. Cadot, on a month's note dated March 16. Let Mr. Cadot be summoned and held to answer for principal, interest and costs.

Action instituted.

NOTE:—Significant example of a negro suing before a *white* Board for justice against a *white* creditor, and obtaining it.

Petition of Recovery. May 9, 1724. Mr. Sainton, holder of a land grant, moves to collect 500 francs on a note due by Mr. St. Pierre de St. Julien, plus interest and costs.

Action instituted.

Court Sentence in Discharge of Debt. May 10, 1724. In suit of Raphael, negro, against Paulin Cadot, the defendant is ordered to pay the stated debt of 200 francs copper, plus interest and costs. (In this document Raphael is described as a *free* negro.)

Suit Over Stake Decision. May 10, 1724. Guillaume Allain, *alias* St. Paul, *vs.* Bailly. Parties are joint owners of a lot of land; question of a bill of stakes thereon. Defendant is ordered to pay value of stakes in question, plus costs.

Corn Claim Ordered Paid. May 10, 1724. In suit of Mr. Bellecourt against LeBlanc grant Council enjoins Mr. Defontaine to return 20 barrels of maize to plaintiff from next crop and to meet the costs.

Corn Claim Secured. May 10, 1724. In suit of Mr. Dumesnil to recover 55 barrels of shelled corn from LeBlanc grant, Councillor Perry files the declared offer of Mr. Defontaine to meet the said claim in corn of next crop, costs included.

Decisions in Sundry Suits. May 10, 1724.

1. Claude Le Roux *vs.* Jacques Lynet. Sow claim to be settled in full. Signed: Bienville.
2. St. Martin *vs.* Massy. Ruling of past January sustained. Massy shall consign given sum (6180 francs) to recorder in gold and silver specie. Bienville. (Sum was earlier stated **6140** francs.)
3. Arnaud Bonnaud *vs.* De Fontaine. Hire of negroes in question shall first be paid on estimated basis. Decision still contingent.

Decisions in Sundry Suits. May 10, 1724.

4. Dumesnil *vs.* Defontaine. Claim to be paid in kind at next crop. *Bienville.*
5. Ceard *vs.* Morisset. M. discharged of the negro in question. Costs divided. *Bienville.*
6. Antoine Le Veuf *vs.* Ceard. Some accounting to be first submitted. Decision contingent. Costs reserved.
7. Jean Soubagne *vs.* Pierre Dreux. D. in default. Judgment for J. S.

Decisions in Sundry Suits. May 10, 1724.

8. St. Martin *vs.* Veuve Duflos. St. M. nonsuited and subject to costs.
9. Jacques Langevin *vs.* Rene Dumesnil. Out of Court. Costs divided. *Bienville, Brusle, Fazende.*
10. Raphael *vs.* Cadot. C. in default; must pay note and costs.
11. Allain (Guillaume) *vs.* Bailly. B. to return the stakes. Costs divided.
12. Balcour *vs.* Defontaine. "Judgment as in ——"

Decisions in Sundry Suits. May, 1724.

13. Sainton *vs.* St. Julien. Note annulled; costs on St. J.
14. Louis P—— *vs.* Jean Bordier. J. B. in default and subject to costs.
15. Manade *vs.* Tomeli and Franchomme. F. to pay T. 500 francs; to wit, 300 on account of Manade's part in the matter; 200 for damages. *Bienville, Brusle, Fazende.*

Petition of Recovery. May 20, 1724. Charles Francois Pichot, attorney for Madame *veuve* Duval, Mr. Pelletier, *Demoiselle* Plassier and Mr. Noquiez (parties in France) moves to collect their costs, respectively, 74, 60 and 187 francs plus 146 francs, from Baron d'Hombourg and Thomas Desesy, before sailing of the *Chameau.* Action instituted.

Estate Funds Held Pending. May 22, 1724. In answer to Mr. LeBlond seeking to collect estate proceeds, the Council reminds him that he is but *one* of the heirs of the late Mr. Leblond de Latour and that the Council cannot release the funds without the consent of all the heirs. The marine risks alone, are too great, since not all the aclaimants might agree to trust remittance by a ship of the Company's funds will be kept on deposit until Council receives power of attorney from other heirs, together with proof that these are the *sole* coheirs.

Draft: Ceard to Kolly. New Orleans, May 26, 1724. In one month at sight Mr. Kolly will please pay to Mr. Brossit or order 220 francs, seven sous and six farthings in gold or silver specie. Value received. Transaction on behalf of Ste. Reine grant. Transferred by Brossit in favor of Mr. Fabre, surgeon, August 12, 1726. Mr. Kolly declines to pay and the draft is protested. Paris, August 23, 1726.

Draft of Ceard-Kolly. May 26, 1724. Original of Mr. Ceard's draft on Mr. Kolly for 220 francs, seven sous and six farthings, to be paid in one month at sight, to Monsieur *Brossiere* or order. Value received in drugs for Ste. Reine grant.

Petition of Recovery. May 29, 1724. Charles Goubin, *alias* Capucin, moves to recover from one *Frere Malo,* tailor, the quantity of nine jugs of brandy and eight jugs of bear's grease; a loan which borrower duly agreed to make good, but instead he has been trafficing in the brandy on a scale of downright *usury.*

Let the Councillor's goodness and charity prevail to oblige the petitioner to "pray the Lord for their salvation." Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. June 8, 1724. Mr. Joseph LeBlond De Latour seeks to collect the sum of 20 Spanish dollars from Mr. Bourbeau, a debt long since due, but unreasonably slighted. Action allowed.

Petition of Recovery. June 20, 1724. Surgeon Major Pouyadon de LaTour sues for the residue 33 francs of his account against Mr. LaMesse, Fleming.

Action allowed.

Petiton to Recover Dugout. July 10, 1724. Estienne Daigle *alias* Malborouti, Canadian, moves to get back the dugout, 18 feet long by 2 feet wide, which was borrowed from him in February by Mr. St. Julien. Or else let Mr. St. J. pay the 80 francs which Mr. D. had to spend on another dugout. Hire also claimed, and the Court "will please to tax him with interest and the costs and ye will do jústice."

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. July 13, 1724. Mr. Antoine Brusle moves to collect some residue accounts from Mr. Dumanoir to-wit, 540 francs for board of Mr. Le Faure, and 450 pounds of flour towards which Mr. B. has received, "24 and 8 piastres."

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. July 21, 1724. Estienne Barasson seeks to collect from one La France, 18 *piasters*, five barrels of corn and one *piastre* for a pound of pepper, less what partial payment has been already received.

Action instituted.

Fine Imposed. July 24, 1724. Madame Jeanne La Creuse, wife of one Nicon, having violated the Council's ruling dated July 14, thereby forfeits a pair of shoes that she sold to Mr. Chapron; item, 25 francs, payable to Mr. C., and she is also fined 25 francs in favor of the town hospital.

Signed: Bienville, Perry.

Court Summons. July 24, 1724. In sequel to complaints that Manager Defontaine is negligent in settling his accounts, whereas the complainants are left in "extreme wretchedness," even destitute of victuals, the Council orders Mr. Defontaine to appear at New Orleans in three days from date of notice and produce the *status* of his accounts.

Signed: *Bienville, Perry, Rossard, recorder.*

Notice delivered aux *Chouaschas*, seven leagues from New Orleans by Clerk, F. Bernoudy.

Petition of Recovery and Restitution. July 26, 1724. Raphael Bernard, free negro, hired himself in France about five years ago to Mr. Dumanoir at 200 francs yearly in silver, plus outfit of clothing. He has served Mr. D. "with fidelity and affection," but latterly Mr. D. has "treated him with rigor," and stinted him of clothing and hire.

Let restitution be granted, and Raphael would would also fain return to France. Moreover, Mr. D. should restore the *trunk* now detained *aux Chauouachas.*

Notice of "urgency" served on Mr. Jean Baptiste Faucon Dumanoir by Sheriff La Moriniere Sept. 19, 1724. In default of appearing he shall be heard on the morrow.

Signed: Perry.

NOTE:—This seems to be the same Raphael who sued Cadot (fined by the Court for libelous verses against the ladies of New Orleans). The appearance of *free* negroes in the colony is almost coincident with the appearance of the first slaves.

Receipt. August 10, 1724. Undersigned *Morisset,* has received of Mr. La Renaudais the sum of 3536 francs in copper, and will account for the same to Mr. Dalcour.

Court Summons. August 11, 1724. At the instance of Mr. Francois Carriere, Sheriff La Moriniere notifies Mr. Provenche to appear and answer for the claim of four quarters of flour due by terms of a contract between the parties. Hearing set for same date.

Surgeon's Report. August 10 and 12, 1724. Certifying that a certain Indian slave "savagess" recently belonging to Mr. Coupard (Coupart), and now sold to Mr. Laronde, had been badly flogged and bears visible injuries therefrom. *Pierre Manade,* signing under date of August 10, forebodes fatal sequel.

Surgeon Major Pouyadon De La Tour (August 12) likewise anticipates death as inevitably impending.

Slave Suit. Lasonde vs. Coupart. August 14, 1724. Mr. Lasonde lodges complaint over breach of contract, as he describes it, on the part of one Coupart, who sold him a little Indian slave "sauvagess", represented as ailing with a slight fever, nothing worse. But the evidences shows that she had been dangerously beaten and is liable to die from her injuries. Let Mr. C. return the goods that he received on account of this equivocal transaction.

Notice served on Mr. Coupart.

Slave Suit. La Sonde vs. Coupart. August 14, 1724. Defendant denies the charge of beating and ill treating the little Indian slave in question. He also states that he did not accept responsibility for the outcome of her fever.

Memorandum of Public Business. August 24, 1724. Undersigned *Delorme* certifies that while Mr. Tixerant was guard of stores, there were no goods in storage for the *Spanish trade.* Reference to invoice dated May 12, 1722. Mr. Tixerant delivered goods for Colonial use alone. Moreover, Mr. Tixerant had orders not to receipt *notes,* after May 1, 1722, but only card certificates, into which the notes were converted, agreeably to Council's proviso, dated April 23, 1722.

Reverse memorandum, March 8, 1725, states that Mr. Tixerant left the foregoing attestation to be filed with minutes.

Petition of New Plaintiff in Sow Suit. August 30, 1724. Undersigned De Morand placed a sow with Mr. Jacques Livet for half the profit. The same sow was killed by LeRoux, gardener; but when the next sow was left in Livet's care he proved so negligent that the sow went astray and cannot be found or traced. (Remainder of the petition is faded illegibly. Context indicates motion of recovery.)

Action allowed and notice served on Livet.

Petition of Recovery. August 29, 1724. Undersigned *Descairat,* seeks to collect the value of 17 francs in goods, due by one Berard.

Action instituted.

Court Summons. August 31, 1724. At the instance of Mr. François Carrière, Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice on Jacques Provenche to appear for hearing on the morrow.

Carriere vs. Provenche. September 1, 1724. Council orders defendant to fulfil a certain contract of building a house for plaintiff on specified plan.

Remonstrance on Outlaws. September 2, 1724. Deputy Attorney General Raquet shows the demoralizing influence of the robbers and scoundrels who have been sent to this country. Far from reforming an exile, they but use it for aggravation of their criminal excesses, besides corrupting the French servants, Indians and negroes. Let them be transported to parts remote and there live by their own labor; being pensioned in advance for the first year.

Compromise Between Carriere and Provenche. September 3, 1724. The parties amically readjust their differences. Provenche shall meet the flour claim by stated installments and pay 200 francs by way of indemnity for delayed completion of house. The said *200 francs*, moreover, are to be paid to the "Reverend Capuchin Fathers as alms for the poor."

Petition of Recovery. September 5, 1724. Pierre Poitiers, *alias* La Croix, seeks to collect from Nicolas Prouet the sum of 33½ francs due on some skins (25 francs) lumber, (4½ francs) and a day's trip down the bayou.
Action instituted.

Contraband Trade in Wine. September 6, 1724. Examination of Thomas Desarsy, carpenter, on charge of unlawful sale of wine that he bought from cargo of the ship *Bellonne*, for 40 *piastres* at Biloxi.
Signed: Delachaise, Rossard.

Decisions in Sundry Civil Suits. September 10, 1724. (Slurred and scrawled; partly torn.) Parties named on cover of later times.

Decisions in Ten Civil Suits. September 11, 1724.

1. *Frère Malo* shall deliver given quantity of brandy and bears grease.
2. Defendant in default and subject to costs.
3. .....
4. Lasonde defendant shall pay Tessier, plaintiff, house rent in question.
5. Livet shall pay Morand 60 francs for sow.
6. Antoine Brusle *vs.* Fauçon Dumanoir. Latter in default and bears costs.
7. La France to pay Barasson the residue of stated claim.
8. Calist *vs.* Berard. Defendant in default and bears costs.
9. Potier *vs.* Prouet. Parties nonsuited and costs divided.
10. Dreux *vs.* Soubagne. Defendant to pay 200 francs due for house rent, plus costs.

Decisions in Four Civil Suits. September 12, 1724.

1. André Saune *vs.* Defontaine. Defendant having declared himself no longer director, Mr. De Pauger shall take his place.
5. François Trudeau *vs.* Dupuy Planchard. Case further pending.
3. Lasonde *vs.* Coupart. Plaintiff nonsuited and bears costs.
4. Jean Baptiste Delays *vs.* Cabassier. Adjustment in a land dispute. Costs divided.

Assistant Clerk Appointed. September 12, 1724. Seeing the unsatisfactory service and lack of diligence exhibited by clerk Bernoudy, Chief Recorder Rossard has asked for the appointment of Mr. Droy to succeed Mr. Bernoudy. Stipulated salary *ration* allowance on footing of 240 francs yearly, plus cash 300 francs yearly. Council approves and ratifies the change.

Signed: Bienville, Delachaise, Fazende, Perry. Marginal approval by Raguet.

Promissory Note in Gambling Suit. September 15, 1724. Undersigned *Laroche,* promised to pay Mr. Petit De Livilliers the sum of 1100 (*honse cens*) francs in copper money for value received, in September, 1725. Endorsed by Petit De Livilliers in favor of *Monsieur Thierry.* (But without endorser's guarantee.)

N. B.—Signature of Laroche bears no mark of "unconscious" intoxication; entire script which appears to be in his hand, looks deliberate and rational. The same is true of other notes.

Promissory Note in Gambling Suit. September 15, 1724. Undersigned *Laroche,* promises to pay to Mr. Petit de Livilliers the sum of 1000 francs for value received in September, 1725.

Endorsed, without guarantee, by Petit De Livilliers in favor of Monsieur Thierry.

Petition of Recovery. September 19, 1724. Jean Baptiste Raquet, substitute of the Attorney General, calls for summons of Mr. Dumanoir, director of the Kolly grant, to pay 2700 francs due on his notes and those of his confidants; together with meeting other stated claims.

Notice served on Mr. Dumanoir to appear on the morrow.

Petition of Recovery. September 19, 1724. Attorney Jean Baptiste Raquet, on behalf of Mr. Quenot de Trefontaine, heir to the late Pierre Quenot, his brother, calls for summons of Mr. Fauçon Dumanoir, director of the *Ste Catherine* grant, to meet a claim of 1826 francs, 12 sous, due the late Mr. Quenot as subdirector, plus interest and costs.

Hearing appointed for the morrow.

Decisions in Three Civil Suits. September 20, 1724.

1. Raquet *vs.* Dumanoir. Defendant shall satisfy stated claims under conditions duly prescribed and he shall furnish security.

2. In suit of Messrs. Raphael, Mr. Dumanoir shall first turn his accounts with Raphael, restore the detained trunk, allow Raphael to change his service, and advance him 100 francs: all this, pending final adjudication. Costs reserved.
3. Raguet *vs.* Dumanoir. Judgment (a bad scrawl) appears to favor plaintiff.

(Marginal date erroneous, 20 Sept. 1727.)

Promissory Note in Gambling Suit. September 20, 1724. Undersigned *Laroche*, promises to pay Mr. Petit De Livilliers the sum of 1000 francs in copper money, in June, 1725. (This note is dated five days after the two similar notes in same suit.)

Endorsed without warrant on his part by Petit De Livilliers in favor of Monsieur Thierry.

Petition in Remonstrance. September 23, 1724. Jean Baptiste Fauçon Dumanoir, director of *Ste Catherine* grant, enters a plea of opposition to the "ruling rendered by default against him," on September 20, in relation to *Sieur* Brusle.

Petitioner will adduce his reasons in good season.

Matter communicated to Mr. Brusle.

Report of Supposed Cruelty to Horse. September 23, 1724. Mr. François Trudeau files a statement giving particulars which led him to suspect ill usage of a certain horse that he noticed running loose and afterwards tied before the door of Mr. Castillon. On the morrow Mr. Trudeau learned that the horse made its way to Mr. Lasonde's and died there.

(Since the incident is reported as dating back to a Saturday morning "late in the month of October," somewhat strange why so long kept silent?)

Petition of Recovery. September 24, 1724. Antoine Aufrère seeks to collect the items of 60 francs, a pair of stockings and a pair of breeches: these and the stockings being of black skin.

Notice served on the defendant, Jean Cariton, tailor.

Petition of Recovery. September 26, 1724. Undersigned Henry Gaspalliere, a workman for *Ste. Catherine* grant, moves to collect his wage arrears in money, not in tobacco, tendered by Mr. Dumanior, director, but inconvenient to get rid of: so the petitioner has experienced.

Action approved. Court notice faded.

Promissory Note. New Orleans, October 7, 1724. Undersigned *Dumont* promises to pay Madame Orsée, dealer in edged tools, the sum of 500 francs (a loan to meet his wants) in money of France and none other. Mr. Dumont's mother will please to cover the said amount from her son's portion in his deceased father's estate.

Petition of Recovery. October 9, 1724. That *stray horse* reported by Mr. Trudeau, belonged to Surgeon Pierre Manade and was caught and cruelly beaten by the people of Mr. Castillon's plantation so ordered by Mr. Dalby. Since the surgeon duly paid damages wrought by his cattle on said plantation, it is just that he should also receive compensation for the horse, which died from the beating.

Action instituted.

Petition (reiterated) in Recovery. October 9, 1724. Mr. Pichot, attorney for certain creditors in France, of Baron D'Hombourg and Thomas Desersy, moves for definite collection, as the outstanding debits are still unpaid.

Action ordered.

Petition of Recovery. October 14, 1724. Antoine Brusle seeks to to collect arreared rent from Mr. Dumanoir, director of Koly (Kolly) grant. Petitioner had already thus applied on past September 11.

Action instituted, October 19, 1724.

Slavery Suit. October 19, 1724. Undersigned Debourdieu shows that he was deceived in a slave trade with one *Blaisence.* Let Plaisence be held to answer, and to retract the bad bargain.

Action allowed.

Petition to Recover Value of Dugout. October 20, 1724. Antoine Durand charges Henry Gaspillière, employed on Mr. Kolly's grant at Natchez, with taking possession of Durand's dugout, much to his inconvenience, as he needed it for transporting his poultry and other goods from Natchez. Let H. Gaspillière be bound to pay cost price as shown by bill of purchase; also fine him 100 francs in favor of *Hospital,* and add interest and costs.

Action instituted.

Petiton of Recovery. October 21, 1724. Undersigned De Larenauais, formerly an accountant for the Company of the Indies, owes the Company 1500 francs, but is also creditor of sundry individuals to the sum of

400 francs. That he may settle with the Company, let him collect his own dues.

Granted and notice served on the indebted parties. (December 15.)

Power of Attorney. October 22, 1724; May 12, 1725. Adrien Dumont, native of Paris, to Madame Marie Claude Baune, wife of François Orsée, for collecting the sum of 500 francs in gold and silver specie from the mother and guardian of Adrien Dumont in France, whither Madame Orsee is about to sail. Supplementary provisos expressed.

Action of Notary Rossard attested. Fleurion. May 12, 1725.

Petition for Delayed Accounting. October 22, 1724. Former manager Defontaines, of Le Blanc grant, calls for statements of certain supplies furnished by himself while actively in charge; the papers being held by Mr. Broutin. Let the desired statements be intrusted to Mr. Duval or to some other acceptable referee.

Granted for further procedure.

Recovery Decreed. (**Medical bill 33 francs.**) October 23, 1724. Council orders default sentence against *La Messe* and condemns him to pay the given residue bill, plus interest and costs.

Extortion in Sales Pursued. October 23, 1724. Deputy Attorney General Raquet moves for hearing of *Mesdames "La Flamande"* and "La Chevalier" on charge of extortionate sale of eggs at 10 sous an egg, to Jean Baptiste Fontaine, soldier in local garrison, and to Mr. Pellerin's domestic *"La Major d' Homme."* He advises fine of 100 francs for each offender; 15 days in prison, and expulsion from this town to a range of 50 leagues. Pillory in reserve if they relapse.

Parties duly cited.

Petiton to Recover Value of Dugout. October 20, 1724. Antoine Durand, charges Henry Gaspillière employed on Mr. Kolly's grant at Natchez with taking possession of Durand's dugout, much to his inconvenience as he needed it for transporting his poultry and other goods from "the Natchez." Let Henry Gaspillière be bound to pay costs price, as shown by bill of purchase; also fine him 100 francs in favor of *Hospital* and add interest and cost.

Action instituted.

Memorandum of Account. November 29, 1724. Statement of items in Surgeon Pouyadon de Latour's treatment of Madame La Messe "during her illness in the month of November, 1724." Total 31 francs.

Petition for Injunction. November 27, 1724. Undersigned Pourbiau complains that Messrs. Cabucière and La Prade have been meddling with his timber, and asks the Council to stop him; also to order restitution of trees already removed (from his premises presumably.)

Notice served.

Copy of Sale Contract. November 14, 1724. Mr. Sainton files a record of the sale of his property to Mr. Tronquailly for 6424 francs.

Larche vs. Petit. December 23, 1724. Official form of decision reported under preceding number.

Signed: Delachaise, Fazende, Perry.

King's Act of Pardon Sustained. December 23, 1724. The Council accedes to the petition of Nicolas Godfroy Barbin, in the matter of granting entire force to a certificate of pardon, vouchsafed him by His Majesty on November 19, 1720.

Decision in Civil Suit. October 24, 1724. Defontaine *vs.* Broutin. Further in process. Costs reserved.

Signed: Bienville, Delachaise, Perry, de Pauger.

Petiton to Recover a Slave. October 28, 1724. Undersigned *de Nolan* tells a distressing tale of the *famine year*, 1722, during which he cared for two injured slaves, the one with a burnt foot, the next one bitten by a snake: victuals then costing "their weight in gold." After all this burden, *Mr. Durand* now claims (and has been allowed) the second slave, whom plaintiff received in exchange for first one. Restitution desired.

Action instituted. Notice served by *Jacques Vincent.*

Petition of Recovery. October 31, 1724. Madame Perrine Le Marie, widow of late Mr. de Morrieres, moves to collect certain accounts which seriously drained her own resources in favor of her late brother in law, Mr. Le Blanc, and four children of his, whom she supported nine years long. Let their trustee, Mr. Ceard, be cited to answer. Two particular items claimed: note of 6200 francs, and board bill 10,000 francs.

Action forward. November 3, 1724.

Bid for Cypress Paling. November 2, 1724. Council advertises to all inhabitants and others concerned, the call for 10,000 boards, 8 feet long by 1 foot wide and thick in proportion, for service of the Company. Award to lowest bidder on Monday November 14. Payable: one-third at start of work; one-third midway in delivery; final third on full delivery.

Signed: Delachaise, Brusle, Fazende, Perry, De Pauger.

Petition to Recover Loan of Rice. November 3, 1724. Jean Fresson lent a barrel of rice to the wife of one Tranchemontagne, "soldier of this garrison," in a time of extreme want (a year ago). Now that he seeks recovery, he gets nothing but "chaff and abuse" (*des sottises and invectives*). He claims 20 francs plus interest and costs.

Action granted and instituted.

Petition for Support. November 4, 1724. *Mariane, Cecile, Servanne and Lorence Le Blanc*, minor children of late La Croix Le Blanc, acting by authority of their trustee, Mr. Ceard, move to receive 2000 francs for their necessary subsistence, from funds held by their father's executor Mr. Duval. Reasons adduced on ground of marriage contract.

Procedure allowed and creditors notified.

Le Blanc Minors vs. Duval, executor. November 8, 1724. Council calls for exhibition of marriage contract, and orders provisional advance of 1500 francs from the 7000 francs now with executor.

Petition of Recovery. November 7, 1724. Matthieu Le Roy, workman, seeks to collect a bill of 227 francs, plus interest and costs, from Mr. Ceard, who keeps putting him off from day to day.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 8, 1724. Antoine Burnelle, workman in the Company's service, seeks to collect 28 Spanish dollars from the firm of Martel, Tessieur & Barthelmy, due on their note. Martel and Barthelemy live at Mobile; Tessier at New Orleans; refuses payment. Let him be cited to pay, plus interest and costs; and he may look to his partners for adjustment.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 8, 1724. Pierre Fleuretat (signed Fleurtet) De Gergy, choristor in parish church, seeks to collect 10 francs allowed him for service

or fees in the employment of the late Madame Bordier. Let Mr. Bordier he held accountable.
Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 8, 1724. *Christianne Richard* (signature in German script "Christian Riechardt") carpenter, seeks to collect from Mr. Du Rivage a residue of bill of 226 francs plus interest and cost.
Notice served on Mr. Du Rivage, master builder.

Payment Ordered in Collection Suit. November 10, 1724. Mr. Mottet, director of certain land grants, is required to pay stated claim of François Bougeaut, that is, to the extent of his account due, together with his passage to France and costs.

Summons to Pay Medical Bill. November 13, 1724. Sheriff La Moriniere notifies one La Messe to pay "presently" that same outstanding bill of 33 francs, either to plaintiff or to sheriff on his behalf.

Petition of Recovery. November 14, 1724. Robert Boudet and Francois Thomas, workmen, seek to collect a residue bill of 80 francs from Mr. Dejan (also written *Dejan* director of a land grant.
Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 14, 1724. Undersigned De Larenaudais, renews his request on the score of his own debtors, to the end that he may settle with Mr. Brut, cashier. Let also former Mr. Delcour be summoned, as he is recalcitrant in complying with certain provisos or their consequences, by order of Councillor Brusle.
Notice allowed.

Petition of Recovery. November 14, 1724. Pierre Sainton, preparing to return to France and wishing to redeem advances tendered him by the Company, sold his property to Mr. Troncuedy (Tronquilly) who is backward in delivering the proceeds. Let Mr. Troncuedy be brought to terms and property sold again if he refuses. Amount of claim 6423 francs plus costs, damage and interest.
Action forward.

Copy of Sale Contract. October 5, 1724. (November 14, 1724.) Mr. Sainton files record of the sale of his property to Mr. Tranquilly for 6424 francs.

Memoranda Filed by Pierre Sainton. November 14, 1724. First, as showing that he applied for a grant of land (15 by 40 acres) on the Mississippi, opposite "*Bustard*

Creek," (*Anse aux Outardes*) on April 16, 1723. *Item,* that the Council granted him such property on *March 11, 1723.* (His application was apparently *formal,* after the granting.)

Third, there follows the statement of what he sold to Mr. Tranquilly in the way of implements and other movables.

Petition of Recovery. November 20, 1724. Claude Bodeson, edge tool artisan, seeks to collect a residue of bill of 200 francs plus interest and costs from Pierre Dreux.

Action instituted.

Petition for Injunction. November 27, 1724. Undersigned *Pourbiau,* complains that Messrs. Cabuciere and La Prade have been meddling with his timber, and asks the Council to stop them; also to order due restitution of the trees already removed (from his premises, presumably.)

Notice served.

Copy of Contract of Lease. December 3, 1724. Jean Bordier leases a property on the Mississippi six acres front by forty acres deep, including cattle and slaves, to Joseph Forsillier, at 250 francs yearly. First year paid in advance.

Accessory provisos expressed.

Petition to Recover Beer Account. December 4, 1724. Jan Lamesse, *alias Le Flamand,* master "hopster" moves to collect 40 francs in silver from Dr. De La Tour, due for the "*beer* which the said *Sieur* de La Tour has taken at his (La Masse's) house at sundry times and even he was drunk at my house a number of times." Signed, J. J. Lammes.

Action instituted.

Ruling on Executor Will. December 4, 1724. Mr. Bompard, executor for *Sieur* Lascom (?) is ordered to fulfil some (badly scrawled) provisos.

Petition of Recovery. December 5, 1724. Joseph Dufour, about to sail for France by the ship *La Bellone,* moves to collect a debt of 400 francs from Mr. Douçeur, plus interest and costs.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. December 7, 1724. Jean Baptiste La Noe *alias* Boucher, seeks to collect from Pierre Le Comte the sum of 200 francs, plus costs.

Action instituted.

Inventory of Estate. *Chatouachas,* December 9, 1724. Detailed report and itemized account of proceedings by Councillor Antoine Brusle. Property of the late Claude Trepagnie, now occupied by his widow, Dame Genevieve Burelle.

Complete outfit of "civilized" household goods both personal and real estate included; also declared business assets and liabilities. Timber buildings were still of a pioneer pattern. Cash comprised Spanish specie and 250 francs in copper. 20 barrels of *beans* among the provisions and a field of sweet potatoes *en terre* for victualing the negroes. At the stroke of noon, they paused until 2 p. m.

Inventory *closed,* December 20. Total estimate 27104 francs. (House covered with palm thatch.)

Petition of Recovery by Seizure. December 9, 1724. Antoine Brusle has attached funds of Mr. Dumanoir to the amount of 800 francs in the hands of one Bouche, debtor to Dumanoir. Brusle answers that he had paid Mr. Raquette. Let Brusle be cited.

Approved and notice served. Debt was for flour account.

Larche vs. Charles Petit. December 11, 1724. Council requires plaintiff to prove that the notes in dispute were gambling debts, and not, as the defendant states, tendered in discharge of past obligations.

Costs reserved.

Petition for Technical Justice. December 11, 1724. *Larche Laine,* deferring to genial custom, joined a convivial card party and lost consciousness of what followed. On the morrow he learned, by friends, that he had also lost money, and in fact he had been induced to sign "*confidential*" promissory notes, now treacherously seeking negotiation in public. Since the money was lost in the pastime forbidden by the Council decree of 1723, he begs to waive payment until he can clear himself in certain still prior *business* engagements.

Action to stay negotiation in question.

Petition to Cite Witnesses. December 11, 1724. *Larche Laine,* also known as *Larchevesques,* moves for citation of Messrs. des Graves, Pasquer and Marlot, to testify that the plaintiff "lost with the defendant the amount of the notes which he has spread among the public, written in his hand," (matter of 4100 francs).

Action granted.

Testimony in Gambling Suit. December 12, 1724. Henry Desgraves, retired captain, remembers some particulars of the game, but went early to bed and has only hearsay knowledge of the notes in dispute.

Jean Baptiste Marlot is aware that Larche lost heavily to Petit, and adds that on the morrow, or maybe two days after the last "sitting," Larche told him of the notes elicited by Petit for losses in the game.

Court Order. **Collection Suit.** December 11, 1724. La Naux *alias* Bouche *vs.* Le Comte. Council orders defendant to pay claim of 200 francs plus interest and costs.

Notice served on January 11, 1725.

Court Order. **Collection Suit.** December 11, 1724. Julien Bimard (Binard) *alias*, Laforge *vs.* Paulin Cadot. Council orders defendant to vacate house within eight days, or else to pay residue 100 francs.

Notice (faded) served on December 18, 1724.

Petition of Recovery. December 11, 1724. Sergeant Maldaque (signed Maldaques) informs "Messieurs of the Superior Council of the new Administration" (de la Nouvelle Regle) that one Lasonde, surgeon and soldier at the Yazous, owes him an account that was to be settled, but is neglected by Mr. Des Graves. Let the matter be cited.

Approved.

Recovert Suit. December 11, 1724. Antoine Brusle *vs.* J. B. Lanaux *alias* Boucher. Before final decision, Council orders Mr. Dumanoir, a creditor of the defendant, to appear for hearing in regard to a certain attachment of goods. Costs reserved.

Court Summons. December 15, 1724. At the instance of Mr. De Larenaudais, Sheriff La Moriniere notifies seven specified parties to appear on the 18th instant with reference to paying their debts to the treasury, in copper specie, plus costs.

Fine Imposed. December 15, 1724. Mr. Coustillas having proposed "impetinent and inadmissable means" for challenging the decisions of Councillor Fazende, is nonsuited in his plea, and fined 200 francs: one-half in favor of the Company, the other half available to town hospital.

Remonstrance with Civil Suit. December 16, 1724. Major Wille, acting commander (in absence of the Captain, *Baron De Hombourg*) of *Company De Merveil leux*,

takes exception to *civil* jurisdiction and ruling in case of one Jeanne Marie Du Bois, widow of Pierre Lucie, a native of *Canton Lucerne*; being now the wife of Sargeant Jaquet & Company washerwoman. It would appear that the *Swiss* in French Majesty's service are to be tried only by Court Martial. In event of appeal, the Duke of Maine is final judge and special protector of Swiss fedendant in French service. Detached memorandum seems to maintain the Council's ruling on the ground that Jaquet's wife is now French.

Rulings in Favor of La Renaudais. December 18, 1724. Three judgments rendered allowing him recovery of given claims: 88 francs; 24, 22, 18½ francs; and a sum left blank, from *Major Wille.*

Rulings (abridged) in Favor La Renaudais. December 18, 1724.

1. La Renaudais *vs.* Major Wille. Defendant to pay claim within one month, into hands of Company's cashier.
2. *Ditto vs.* La Perriere. Plaintiff allowed 88 francs at issue, payable within one month to Company's treasury.
3. *Ditto vs.* Montmort, Defontaine, Bernaudy. Defendants in default and ordered to pay to the Company's treasury 24, 22, 18½ francs respectively.

Receipts in each instance, will be given by plaintiff.

Memorandum of Sale. December 20, 1724. Undersigned *Beaulieu* acknowledges that he has sold "this day," to Mr. Brusle, a lot situated in this town of New Orleans, 10 "fathoms" front by 20 deep and adjoining the property of Mr. Perry on one side, of Mr. Delamarque on the other, for the sum of 250 francs in copper specie paid and receipted.

Registered by Broutin, December 10, 1730.

Petition for Judgment in Gambling Suit. December 20, 1724. Larche, here signing *Larchevesque*, bespeaks final sentence in his plea against Petit. Two of his witnesses have appeared and in repeated default of the third, there should be evidence enough to guide the Court conclusively.

Defendant's attorney cited.

Decisions in Eleven Civil Suits. December 20, 1724.

1. Robert Boudet and François Thomas *vs.* Dejean. Claim allowed.
2. Julien Binard *alias* La Forge *vs.* Paulin Cadot.

3. Larche *vs.* Petit de Livilliers. Plaintiff must *prove* his plea.
4. La Messe *vs.* Poyadon de La Tour. Plaintiff nonsuited; must pay in current money.
5. Adam Gilbert *vs.* Antoine Brusle. Claim allowed.
6. Antoine Brusle *vs.* J. B. Lanore. Mr. Dumanoir shall be cited.
7. —— —— — Dumanoir. Defendant in default and bound to pay.
8. Roy *vs.* Ceard. Parties rederred before Mr. Roquet result pending.
9. J. B. Lanoue *alias* Boucher *vs.* LeComte. Defendant in default; must pay.
10. Du Four *vs.* La Douceur. Given *security* shall appear in Court.
11. Claude Bodson *vs.* Pierre Dreux. Claim allowed.

Councillor De Perry vs. Jacquet and Mesnaud. December 22, 1724. Further procedure ordered.

Larche vs. Petit de Livilliers. December 23, 1724. Notes found void because based on forbidden game. They shall be kept on file (the three returned by Mr. Thierry; fourth note is not produced). Costs on defendant; plaintiff is fined 100 francs in favor of Hospital. Future transgressors of the law against gambling are liable to 300 francs fine. Present ruling to be published and posted. (Larche is here named *Louis Quentin Jacques Larcheveque*).

Larche vs. Petit. December 23, 1724. Official form of decision reported under the preceding number.

Signed: Delachaise, Fazende, Perry.

King's Act of Pardon Sustained. December 23, 1724. The Council accedes to the petition of Nicolas Godefroy Barbin in the matter of granting entire force to a certain certificate of pardon vouchsafed him by His Majesty on November 19, 1720.

Slave Suit. De Nolan vs. Durand. December 28, 1724. Defendant argues that there was no question of a *bargain* with plaintiff, nor could slaves be transferred without the consent of official authority, not here invoked. If Mr. De Nolan victualed the slaves in this case, he also had the benefit of their labor (lent him for putting up a forge). An adduced medical report is challenged as spurious. Further objections urged in refutation of plaintiff's claim.

Plaintiff sustained.

Summons to Pay Claim. December 29, 1724. Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice on Paulin Cadot to pay 100 francs to Julien Binard, or to the Sheriff on his behalf. The defendant refusing, he is forwarded of impending measures against his property.

Petition of Recovery. December 30, 1724. Louis Brissard, preparing to embark by the ship *La Bellone*, would first collect an account of 220 francs from Mr. Du Rivage (Durivage). Attached memorandum shows that Mr. Durivage acknowledges the like debit on 10th December, 1724.

Notice served on Mr. Durivage January 2, 1725.

Sheriff's Notice of Attachment. December 30, 1724. Proceedings in course of collecting the claim of 100 francs owing by Paulin Cadot to Julien Binard *alias* Laforge. Cadot's house was found locked and Cadot absent. Sale of his property will be advertised in the customary form.

Decision Between De Nolan and Durand. December 30, 1724. Durand shall pay 150 francs in compensation for victuals and medicines on account of the negro in question.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly, published quarterly at New Orleans, La., for October 1, 1917. State of Louisiana, Parish of Orleans. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and Parish aforesaid, personally appeared John Dymond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912. Publisher Louisiana Historical Society. Editor, Managing Editor, Business Manager, John Dymond, New Orleans, La. 2. That the owners are The Louisiana Historical Society and issue no stock. Officers are G. Cusachs, President; John Dymond, Sr., 1st Vice-President; W. O. Hart, Treasurer, and Bussiere Rouen, Corresponding Secretary, all New Orleans, La. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are None. John Dymond, Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of January, 1918. (*Seal*). Augustus G. Williams, Notary Public, New Orleans, Louisiana.

